SEPHARDIM;

OR, THE

HISTORY OF THE JEWS

IN

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

BY

JAMES FINN.

Da propriam ..... domum; da mœnia fessis,
Et genus, et mansuram urbem.

ÆNEID, iii. 85.

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TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

GEORGE,

EARL OF ABERDEEN, K.T. F.R.S.

&c. &c. &c.

THIS RECORD

OF AN INTERESTING PEOPLE,

IN CIRCUMSTANCES UNKNOWN TO OTHER NATIONS,

IS (BY PERMISSION) DEDICATED,

IN TESTIMONY OF MUCH RESPECT AND

PERSONAL GRATITUDE.

PREFACE.

Of the two large bodies of European Jews, the Ashkenazim from Germany and Poland, and the Sephardim of Spanish and Portuguese descent, it is well known that during our middle ages the latter were the more eminent in wealth, literature, and general importance. To this fact we find frequent allusions in historical works, though only in cursory or compressed remarks. And from the nature of their circumstances such an effect must have followed. The Mediterranean for merchandize, the abundant agricul-

tural produce and the metallic riches of Spain offered advantages unknown to the Eastern side of the continent, while the steady prevalence and uniformity of the Romish system among the nations of the West, allowed to the Jews a more familiar intercourse with a variety of settled property and of civil institutions, than the Ashkenazim could obtain amid the tumultuary fortunes and the barbarism of Teutonic and Slavonic tribes at the same epoch. Moreover, their early and afterwards diversified cultivation of literature and science, raised them to a positive standing in the intelligence of Europe so high, that it has been said, "We have never yet repaid our debt of grateful acknowledgment to the illustrious Hebrew schools of Cordova, Seville, and Granada." (Retrospective Review, iii. 208.)

The general histories of modern Jews have treated of them as one people *per se*, without adequate consideration of how differently must have been modified the Judaism of Granada in the twelfth century, or of Castille in the four-

teenth century, from that of the same period amid the ferocity and unlettered ignorance of Poland and Muscovy. In Spain, this people acquired a degree of nationality not found in other countries, and this again assumed peculiar diversities of circumstance under the three great ascendancies of the Goths, the Arabs, and the Inquisition.

In framing a history of the Peninsular Jews, it is necessary to bear in mind, how strong a feature in the Spanish character is the principle of a rigid exclusive bigotry: a principle, not so much derived from the spirit of Roman dominion, as from the struggle through many centuries of three conflicting national religions: national inasmuch as the Mohammedan creed pertained only to those Spaniards of Arab and African blood; the rabbinical creed to those Spaniards descended from Abraham; and the Christian creed to the remainder: the converts from either side being too insignificant in number to alter this view of the parties. The two former were eventually subdued

by the sword or banishment, but the obstinacy of feeling engendered by the prolonged hostility, forms still a prominent characteristic in the genius of the victors.

The events here related are gathered from a variety of chronicles. The notices of Jewish literature and Rabbinical biography are mainly taken from the "Bibliotheca Magna Rabbinica" of Fr. Bartoloccio, and the "Dizionario Storico degli autori Ebrei" of De Rossi: the opinion upon Talmudic Judaism is considerably influenced by a recent work called "The Old Paths," by the Rev. A. M'Caul, D.D.

It is nearly superfluous to observe that previous to the date of A.D. 1136, Spain and Portugal are to be considered one country.

The following narrations will supply matter of regret in two ways to the reflecting mind: the boasted Catholicity of Spain will not from its visible fruits demonstrate the national Chris-

tianity to be the Christianity of the New Testament; and on the other hand, while its victims were indeed the relics of Judah, our compassion for them in their fiery trials cannot but be mingled with grief at the consideration that they are nevertheless an "alienated Judah."

A miraculous people, they still command the attention of the world even in their fallen state; and the intellectual or moral advancement of mankind, with all the gigantic march of events, does not preclude the certainty of God's express arrangements for Israel. While the infidel sneers at them as the "Pariahs of the globe," or the more friendly Christian, in reverting to their long past history, and looking for their promised spiritual regeneration, as well as the national return to their own land, designates them "the Aristocracy of the world;" as yet the Hebrew walks on in his self-collected stubbornness: empires become extinct, tribes and languages become amalgamated; but these remain an inde-

structible race. They are dealt with by an unparalleled discipline, and an unparalleled result will hereafter redound to the glory of God.

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SEPHARDIM.

CHAPTER I.

HEBREWS IN SPAIN DURING THE PERIOD OF THE FIRST TEMPLE IN JERUSALEM.

THE earliest uncontradicted testimony that we have of Jews residing in Spain, is given by the decrees of the council of Elvira, held A.D. 324; and we may gather that they were then numerous in the country,

1. From the nature of the canons enacted regarding them;

2. From that council being general for all Spain; not a provincial synod, as we shall see hereafter.

The date and circumstances of their first introduction to the Western Peninsula are unknown, and by many would be considered of little importance; not greater than the entrance of Jews into any other of the many lands where they have been found for the last sixteen or seventeen centuries. But their pretensions on this point recede to a higher antiquity than the vagrancy enforced by the sword

of Titus Cæsar, and Christian authors of considerable reading, if not discrimination, have set up for them claims exceeding their own.

In that beauteous district called the garden of Valencia, there is a small town, Murviedro, built from the ruins of the famous Saguntum. Amid these ruins, about A.D. 1630, some Jesuits were searching for a particular stone *Soros*, or perhaps a tomb, the inscription upon which was expected to decide a point of history under the date of 2600 years previous. It was this:—Were there Jews in that region, residing and paying tribute to Jerusalem in the days of king Solomon? Their task was undertaken at the special entreaty of one of their order at Rome, Villalpando, who had read in a book, then recently published by Francis Gonzaga, bishop of Mantua and general of the Franciscans, upon the rise of his order, that a sepulchral monument existed at Murviedro, bearing a Hebrew epitaph in characters more ancient than the square alphabet now in use, to this effect[1]:

> "This is the tomb of Adoniram
> The servant of king Solomon;
> Who came to collect the tribute,
> And died the day . . .

The stone being broken and defaced, the writing was described as incomplete. Further, the bishop

[1] Appendix A.

had produced a MS. volume in an antique Spanish dialect, describing the ruins of Saguntum, which, after a detail of many Roman monuments, mentioned the one in question, as being of a more remote age than those, and gave a version of its inscription [1].

Now this MS. was considered of no common value, for it was a present from the bishop's relative the Duke of Savoy, formerly viceroy of Valencia, and had been dedicated to another relative, Alfonso Duke of Segorbe and Count of Ampurias. Without being overborne by the mere parade of great names, Villalpando had begged of these his brethren dwelling in Spain to investigate the fact on the site described; and their labour obtained the following results.

1. The town's people immediately pointed out a large stone near the gate of the citadel, which was commonly denominated "the stone of Solomon's collector;" upon this was a Hebrew inscription, but not answering to the purport they expected; to this we shall presently recur.

2. In a certain MS. chronicle preserved in the town they found this entry—"At Saguntum, in the citadel, in the year of our Lord 1480, a little more or less, was discovered a sepulchre of surprising

[1] Appendix B.

antiquity. It contained an embalmed corpse, not of the usual stature, but taller than is common. It had, and still retains on the front, two lines in the Hebrew language and characters, the sense of which is,—'The Sepulchre of Adoniram the servant of king Solomon, who came hither to collect the tribute.' Of this Adoniram the servant of Solomon mention is made in the vth of the first book of Kings, and more expressly in the ivth of that book. The Hebrew letters rendered into Roman, are these:—'Zehukeber Adoniram, Ebed ha-Melec Selomo, seba ligbot et hammas, voniptar yom.'"

And in page 112 of the same MS. they found written, "The marble mausoleum of surprising antiquity which was discovered at Saguntum in the year of our Lord 1482, and inscribed with Hebrew letters which are these in Roman, Zehukeber, &c. [as above] still exists in the citadel before the outer gate[1]."

Such were the fruits of their enterprise; the recompence was sufficient to justify its undertaking. And it must be added, that Villalpando procured afterwards a careful copy, by others again of his order, of some other MS. which speaks honourably of the same sepulchre.

The *resumé* of the whole stands thus. An author

[1] Villalpandus in Ezechielem, Vol. ii. Part ii. ch. lviii.

makes a startling assertion connected with ancient history; he produces for voucher, a very respectable MS. Some of the most learned men of their time (learned before they could become Jesuits) seek personally for information where they were directed. A popular tradition is found, mainly, though not entirely, coinciding with their object: and this tradition exists when there had been no Jew in the whole kingdom for nearly 120 years. They gain a strong corroboration in the ancient records of the place, affording even minute details of the Oriental construction of the tomb, and embalming of the body; this record having been guarded there during the fullest efficiency of the holy Inquisition, and prevalence of popular hatred against the Jews. Another MS. found subsequently confirms the whole, and the inscription is exactly the same in all these sources of information.

But if the facts thus elicited fail to demonstrate that Solomon collected tribute from Spain, we may and ought to make use of these subsidiary considerations.

1. The treasures of gold and silver in Spain, were vast in ancient times beyond general credence, even abating much from the report of Posidonius (apud Strabonem) who describes the natives as using mangers and barrels of pure silver. It is

known that Marcellus exacted at one time from the Celtiberi the sum of 600 talents.

2. The Phœnicians did unquestionably trade to Carthage and Spain; and Hiram king of Tyre was a personal friend of Solomon.

3. The Phœnicians had a colony at Tarshish [1], Tarsis, or Tartessus, near Cadiz, and Solomon did send ships to Tarshish in company with those of Hiram[2], and procured metallic riches by their means.

[1] "Tarshish was thy merchant," [i. e. of Tyre] Ezek. xxvii. 12.

[2] Josephus believed Tarshish to be Tarsus in Cilicia, but this is an utterly indefensible idea. Theodoret on Jer. x. 9. renders the word by Carthage, but the learned Bochart contends in reply that Carthage had no direct access to any metals. In his preface to "Phaleg," and in the "Geographia Sacra," lib. iii. c. 7. he decidedly concludes that the Tarshish of the Scriptures was Tartessus in Spain with probably a district around, so as to include Cadiz. However distinctly it may be shown that the fleet of Amaziah and Jehoshaphat (2 Chron. xx. 36.) built at Ezion-geber, was destined for India, this does not prove that the voyage to Tarshish was in the same direction. When Jonah deserted his prophetic charge, he embarked at Joppa for Tarshish, therefore Tarshish was along the Mediterranean. The verse in Chronicles might seem to imply that the way to Tarshish was by Ezion-geber: but in the original there is no *the* before *ships*, therefore the confederate kings made two separate fleets. The transaction in 1 Kings xxii. 48, 49, is not the same as this, and the appellation there of "ships of Tarshish" denotes "ships such as those for Tarshish." The three years required for the voyage (1 Kings x. 22.) will not seem incredible when we recollect the long passage from Judæa to Italy (Acts xxvii. and xxviii.) in an age when the arts of navigation were still more advanced.

4. The name of Adoniram, as the Murviedran MS. observes, falls in precisely with the Scriptural history of 1 Kings iv. 6. "Adoniram the son of Abda was over the tribute," (among the other appointments of the king,) also 1 Kings v. 13. at the erection of the temple, "And king Solomon raised a levy out of all Israel, and the levy was 30,000 men;" and further on, "Adoniram was over the levy."

Now if these varied observations converge to any one point, it must be to this question at issue, and tend greatly to its establishment as a certainty: viz. that Adoniram, chancellor of Solomon, came in company with Tyrian ships to Tarshish in Spain, and other neighbouring cities, for the collection of precious metals, died at Saguntum, and received a dignified burial from some of his countrymen settled there. They will not show that the sepulchre described at Murviedro was a relic of that ancient period, but they may incline us to think less lightly of the asserted Jewish colony, than, from its novelty to us, we might be tempted to do.

We need not, however, be so sanguine as Villalpando, who in his gigantic Commentary on Ezekiel, believes this to be actually demonstrated[1], and jumps to the further *certainty*, that *therefore*,

[1] "Ex quibus omnibus aperte demonstrari potest," &c.

colonies of Hebrews existed all over the world in the reigns of *David* and Solomon; and that *therefore* the tribute for the erection and support of the temple attained its well-known large amount.

Nor need we, on the other hand, with Basnage [1], rashly conjure up declarations that were never made, and then proceed to demolish them. Whatever becomes of this whole subject, it is certainly not a Rabbinical figment, but a matter of research conducted by Christian scholars. This latter writer says, "In the first place they [i. e. the Rabbis] produce monuments of stone, to prove that Spain being subject to Solomon, paid him tribute: and that that prince sent thither his officers to levy it annually." A sentence which contains three gratuitous assumptions, with a sneer at the close; "perhaps lies are never written on stones and tombs." Yet commercial societies or factories rendering occasional returns to the mother-country for special purposes, may have been formed in Spain, even though unasserted by old MSS. and sculptured inscriptions [2].

[1] Histoire des Juifs, livre vii. c. 9.

[2] The metallic riches of Spain were known to the Jews at least 300 years B.C. See 1 Macc. viii. 3.

"Though now no more your glittering marts unfold
Sidonian dyes, and *Lusitanian* gold."

Heber's Palestine.

To proceed: the epitaph which the visitors did read on the Hebrew sepulchre, was this [1]—

"... of Oran Nebahh the President:
Who rebelled against his prince
The Lord has taken him . . ."

Then after a few illegible words

"And his glory to king Amaziah."

The people exhibited this as "the stone of Solomon's collector," and the MS. record pronounced the tomb of Adoniram with its embalmed corpse to be on that spot, "in the citadel before the outer gate." This discrepancy would be at once reconciled if we could shew (which though probable, cannot be proved, neither can it be denied) that among the confused antiquities of the place there were formerly two such monuments near each other: as we know that very ancient Hebrew inscriptions were not uncommon in Spain, and even now are to be found [2]. Between the dis-

[1] Appendix C.

[2] "By the road-side near Montjuich there stands a large rude stone with a Hebrew inscription." (Tour of Rev. G. D. Whittington, 1803.)—Inglis in 1830, mentions several of these at Montjuich, and some blocks of white marble were seen at Palermo in Sicily by Brydone, which bore Chaldæan inscriptions. These he copied: but were they erected by any other than Jews? and were they the work of wretched fugitives? A contemporary Arabic writer with the conquest of Spain relates that the victorious Muza stood at the chief gate of Merida to gaze on a large neglected stone in-

covery of the stone coffin to the visit of the Jesuits there was an interval of 150 years: and that too a period of excessive animosity against every thing Jewish; the body by exposure to the air must have crumbled to dust, and have been scattered by the passing wind, the receptacle may have been destroyed by violence, and the tradition have become gradually transferred to the neighbouring stone, which to the unlearned would appear very similar or identical.

Nothing is known of the personage Oran Nebahh, or of his rebellion: but his record bore the marks of high antiquity in 1630. It speaks of a president, a prince, renown, and the time of a monarch's reign. If the argument for Hebrews inhabiting Spain in the days of Solomon, be deemed already established, there remains no difficulty in conceiving this tomb to be of the age of Amaziah king of Judah, 150 years after Solomon. Bartoloccio[1] however states that the later Jews as-

scribed with Chaldæan writing; the meaning of which he had given him by skilful interpreters. That this stone as well as those in Sicily referred to very early patriarchal ages, is a circumstance beside our present purpose, which is rather to ascertain that Hebrew and Chaldee inscriptions (irrespective of Phœnician) of exceeding great antiquity, were formerly not unusually met with at the Western extremity of the Mediterranean.—(Historia de Merida, by Bernabe Moreno de Vargas: citing Miguel de Luna, and others versed in Arabic in the Escurial.)

[1] Bibliotheca magna Rabbinica, on R. Moses bar Shem Tob.

signed sometimes the title of *King* to their rulers of synagogues. But this will not account for the president being subject to a king, then renouncing his authority, &c. Perhaps the few words defaced would be sufficient if we had them to elucidate the matter: and remembering that time and violence had partially defaced the stone, it becomes useful to consider that very slight mistakes in the Hebrew alphabet may give important variations in the signification of words.

A third Jewish epitaph has been quoted from the monuments of Saguntum; and this is the only one mentioned by Rabbis as well as Christians. R. Moses bar Shem Tob, aben Hhaviv, in the "Ways of Pleasantness," writes thus: "When I was in the kingdom of Valencia, at the synagogue of Morvitri (Murviedro), all the people in the gate and the elders informed me that a sepulchral monument existed there, of a prince of the army of Amaziah king of Judah; I, therefore, hasted to view it. The monument stands on the summit of a hill; whither having mounted with labour and weariness, I read its writing, which was in verse and as follows[1]:

"'Raise a lamentation: in the voice of bitterness:
For the great prince: the Lord has taken him.'

"I could read no more; but at the end were

[1] Appendix D.

the words, 'To Amaziah.' Then I believed that this form of rhymes and feet had been in use ever since our fathers were in their own land."

This author seems to have entertained no doubt of his people being settled in Spain before the Chaldæan captivity; but as the book itself is a treatise upon rhymes and metrical scansion (which however are denied by Christians to be of ancient date in the Hebrew language,) and is the original source of this individual epitaph; and as it, like that described by the Jesuits, ends with the name Amaziah; may it not be suspected that the learned Rabbi has yielded to the temptation of associating an Iambic distich of his own with the reality of an inscription at Murviedro, for the purpose of proving his own argument? Nevertheless, it is worth observing that this account was written about the time of the *Soros* being discovered, and above a century before the inquiry made by Villalpando.

These several inscriptions are copied into the "Globus Arcanorum Linguæ Sanctæ," by Luis de San Francisco, p. 709; and Fabricius' "Bibliotheca Græca," vol. xiv. p. 166, besides Villalpando and Bartoloccio.

Basnage advises, "not to believe implicitly in monuments, which impostors have amused themselves with burying for the astonishment of the

simple." But it does not appear that the stone actually seen and copied, had ever been under ground; and the *Soros*, or stone coffin, inscribed with Hebrew, containing an embalmed corpse, and surviving in the popular tradition, can hardly be supposed a cheat, unless we learn to disbelieve Villalpando's whole narration of the search instituted at Saguntum, and the record in the archives, as well as the independent evidence of R. Moses' discovering an epitaph on the same spot, long before this account was made. Neither Spaniard nor Jew would be so rash as to doubt of more than the conclusion that has been drawn; and whatever either a heedless, or an overcautious reader may believe, he will the most securely scoff at the notion of Jews in Spain from a long antiquity, who has not from the wrecks of that ancient city, gazed upon the "deep and dark blue" Mediterranean, and has not there recollected that Tarshish was at his right hand, and Palestine along that sea to the left.

CHAPTER II.

HEBREW SETTLEMENTS IN SPAIN DURING THE SECOND TEMPLE.

A DIFFERENT origin is ascribed to the Jews of Spain by several of the principal Rabbinical writers, and has been hastily believed by some Christians, from whom more prudence might have been expected.

R. Isaac Abarbanel, in his Commentary on Zech. xii. 7. "The Lord also shall save the tents of Judah," has this remark: "And even into Spain in the time of the desolation of the first Temple, according to R. Isaac aben Gheath, of blessed memory, that two families of the house of David; one from the sons of David who settled in Lucena [near Granada], and the other, the family of the *Abarbanela*, which inhabited Seville, and from it came a thousand offshoots[1]." This reference, however, cannot now be found among the writings of R. Isaac aben Gheath.

[1] R. Menasseh ben Israel ascribes the settlement of the Abarbanels in Spain to the date of the second Temple's fall.

The "Sceptre of Judah," by R. Solomon ben Virga, relating events of the thirteenth century, inserts the following pretended conversation: "Then said Thomas the philosopher, 'It would delight thee, O king [Alonso], to converse with that Jew, who is said to be descended from the ancient stock of their kings.' The king replied: 'But they say falsely; for we are told that the royal race of David was entirely destroyed when Nebuchadnezzar conquered the Jews; for he dreaded lest any one of that blood should survive, under whose influence the people might resume their arms, and vindicate their former freedom[1].' Thomas answered: 'Yet it appears, that when Nebuchadnezzar was on his way to besiege Jerusalem, he had auxiliary forces sent him by some powerful princes, partly because they feared the ruler of the world, and partly out of that hatred toward the Jews which they held on account of religion. Among these one far superior to the rest was named Hispanus, from whom Spain derives its name, who, together with his relative Pyrrhus, a king of the Greeks[2], set out for Jerusalem. These

[1] When the rabbi assigns this notion to a Christian king, he forgets that the New Testament brings the genealogy of David down to Jesus, in the reign of Herod, and to his cousins, still later.

[2] Mariana makes this Pyrrhus a prince of Merida in Lusitania, and describes his importation of Jews from Asia to have been

two, Pyrrhus and Hispanus, subdued the Jews; and Nebuchadnezzar, in gratitude for their succour, granted them, in a royal manner, a share of the acquisition. Moreover, it appears that Jerusalem was divided by walls into three parts: the outermost was inhabited by artificers, and more especially by the vendors of spices for the temple sacrifices, and concerning whom the prophet says, 'Howl, ye inhabitants of Maktesh[1].' Between the first wall and the second resided all the students and the merchants, because the learned have more need of the merchants than the merchants have of the learned, for this single reason, that merchandize will never teach the want of true wisdom, but a learned man knows his want of money. The space between the second and third wall was occupied by the royal family; that is to say, the whole seed of David; also the priests and the sacred ministers.'

"'When Jerusalem was allotted for plunder to

occasioned by the dispersion under Titus, omitting all mention of Hispanus. The Toledan Epistle makes Pyrrhus a captain in the army of Cyrus at the restoration.

[1] Zephaniah i. 11. Note by W. Lowth. "Maktesh, a part, or street of Jerusalem. The Chaldee interprets it of the inhabitants of the brook Cedron."—Note by Archbishop Newcome. "A valley in Jerusalem, which divided the upper from the lower city. This is agreeable to the etymology of the word, which signifies *a hollow place*."—(From D'Oyley and Mant's Bible.)

these monarchs, Nebuchadnezzar took for himself the two lower walls and the people about them, besides the other cities of Jerusalem, and led them captives into Persia and Media; but the third division he left for Pyrrhus and Hispanus. Pyrrhus conveyed these captives in his ships to ancient Spain, which is called Andalusia, and to the city of Toledo. When the land was found insufficient to contain so great an influx of population, they were removed to other parts of his dominions. Part of the royal descendants, who had at first gone to Seville, retired thence to Granada.'

[He adds, that the numbers were afterwards increased by the fugitives from Jerusalem, at the overthrow by Titus.]

"'So that all the Jews now in thy realm, O king, are derived from the royal stock, at least the greater part are of the tribe of Judah. Therefore it is no marvel that some still survive who trace up their genealogy to David.'"

The merits of this tale are easily appreciated. But we find that for centuries before Abarbanel and Ben Virga, the Spanish Jews urged the same pretensions. At the capture of Toledo in 1080, they assured their conqueror that they were a residue of the first captivity[1]. And again in 1492, when the general expulsion was announced, the Toledan

[1] Sandoval, Historia de los Reyes de Castilla y de Leon.

Jews appealed to an ancient monument in the open square of the city, bearing an inscription dictated by some very early bishop, which testified that this people had not quitted Spain during the whole time of the second Temple, and therefore could not have been participators in the guilt of crucifying Jesus.

The Rabbis appealed likewise to the Scripture, in Obadiah, verse 20. "The captivity of Jerusalem, which is in *Sepharad*," where the Targum of Jonathan renders Sepharad as Spain. Now this Chaldee Targum was written about the time of the Christian era, in the reign of Tiberius Cæsar; and if its authority be conclusive there were Jews in Spain during the prophecy of Obadiah, that is, soon after the days of Nebuchadnezzar.

Again, the zealots on this debateable ground contend, that many of the names of places in the Peninsula are evidently repetitions of names in the Holy Land, obtained from the usual custom of colonists to designate their new settlements by appellations to which they had been familiar. Thus we have Escalona from Ascalon; Noves from Nove; Magueda from Megiddo; Yepes or Jepes, from Joppa; and Toledo[2], from Toledoth (genea-

[1] "At first called Peritzolo, but the Hebrews named it Tolitola," says the "Branch of David," by R. David Ganz. But this statement would lead to other conclusions.

logies), because the exiles there reviewed their family genealogies when they assembled to dig the wells and found the city. Nay the word Spain itself, from ספן, a rabbit, the common symbol of the country upon the Roman medals.

The very Moors are witnesses in this cause. When Taric gained Toledo in A.D. 710, he found, in a small town not far distant, a most precious article of booty, namely, the table of shew-bread, which had belonged to Solomon's Temple, and which the Hebrews had secretly conveyed into Spain. It was formed of one huge emerald, encircled by three rows of pearls, and stood upon 360 feet of pure gold. That such a relic was found there, is proved by their changing the name of the place from Segoncia into Medinat-Al-Meida (the table).

Assuredly these, or less numerous and recondite arguments would be sufficient to produce conviction in former ages; yet to them all it may be rejoined:—

1. That the inscription in the market-place of Toledo, however venerable for age, could be no competent voucher for an event of twenty-one centuries before. It was most likely to be a remnant of the time when the Chaldæan plea was made to Alonso VI.

2. Sepharad is not Spain; for if it were Spain,

the prediction of Obadiah has failed: since "the Captivity which was in Sepharad" did not return, according to their own showing, to "possess the cities of the South," but allowed their brethren from Babylon to take possession, and, under Hyrcanus, to devour Edom. The Septuagint translation, made about two centuries before the Targum of Jonathan, is the more trust-worthy of the two, when it substitutes Ephrata for Sepharad[1].

3. The etymologies adduced, and which resemble Hebrew, belong rather to the cognate languages, Phœnician[2] or Arabic, and are not repetitions of local names.

4. The table of emerald paste[3] must have been

[1] St. Jerome, in the Vulgate, has strangely translated בספרד—in Bosphoro.

[2] Aldrete, Origen de la lingua Castellana, iii. 4. Bochart argues from ספן the Phœnician intercourse with Spain.

[3] Some suppose, that when the ancients mention large fabrications of emerald, they mean green fluor spar. Dr. E. Clarke (Tomb of Alexander, p. 44.) understands them to signify the green breccia of Egypt. Mariana considers this table to have been of green marble. But Herodotus (Euterpe, 44,) describes the column of emerald in the temple of Hercules at Tyre, as "diffusing by night an extraordinary splendour;" and it is now known, that some enormous specimens of emerald vases, &c. still extant on the continent from early times, are made of a vitrified paste, the art of which workmanship is stated to have been still in existence about the ninth century, by Heraclius. (See Dr. Charles O'Conor's Appendix to the Catalogue of Stowe MSS.)

a valuable prize, as well for its accompaniments of gold and pearls[1], as for the *prestige* connected with its history; and, accordingly, we find a romantic account of its removal to Damascus: but it need not be a portion of the first Temple's furniture. If a relic of Jerusalem at all, it may have been a part of the Roman plunder which Alaric had seized, another portion of which had been taken from the Goths, by the Franks at Poitiers; and a third share had been found in Carthage by Belisarius, who graced with it his triumphant entry to Constantinople[2], and thus, it would only date from the second Temple.

So, then, there is no adequate confirmation to be had of the statement in the "Sceptre of Judah" respecting Pyrrhus, Hispanus, and their host of captives from the city of Zion.

Mariana, Sarmiento[3], and after them Basnage, have interwoven another subject with that which we have just considered, but which ought to be kept distinct from it, if mentioned in serious earnestness: viz. the pretended invasion of Spain by Nebuchadnezzar. The notion is founded on a passage in Strabo (lib. xv.), another in Eusebius, (Chron. Canon. 1. p. 41.) and two passages in

[1] Its intrinsic value was estimated at 500,000 crowns. Cardonne.

[2] Reland, de Spoliis Templi Hieros.

[3] Obras Posthumas.

Josephus (Ant. x. 11. 1. and Contra Apion.); all quoting from an otherwise unknown Persian author, Megasthenes.

Strabo cites him as affirming that "Nebuchodonosor, renowned above Hercules by the Chaldæans, traversed as far as *the Pillars* to Tearcon, and returned with his army from *Iberia* into Thrace and Pontus."

In Eusebius, "Also Megasthenes, in the fourth part of his Indian [history], where he endeavours to show, that the aforesaid king of the Chaldæans surpassed Hercules in valour and greatness of action; for he declares that he subjugated a great part of Africa and *Iberia*."

Basnage contends, that *this Iberia* is not Spain, but Georgia in Asia, which indeed would best accord with the expedition into Thrace and Pontus; but where is Tearcon? and where are *the Pillars?* The Latin paraphrase of Strabo renders Iberia by Hispania. Either, therefore, the Oriental writer believed the Iberia subdued by the Babylonians to be Spain, or the geographer (which is scarcely credible) conceived him to mean so, and inserted *the Pillars* as a flourish of his own, in connection with the name of Hercules [1].

[1] Unless he intended the Pillars of Alexander in Asiatic Sarmatia (Ptolemy, Geogr. v.); but these are of posterior erection to the reign of Nebuchadnezzar.

Neither Josephus nor Eusebius mention the Pillars, but they associate Africa with Iberia; and the Milan edition (1818) of Eusebius gives in its paraphrase Zybœi, a people of Africa, for Iberia.

Mariana, following the common reading of Strabo, has detailed from his own invention the disembarkation of the Babylonians near the Pyrenees, their taking of successive cities, marching to Cadiz; and then, at the pillars of Hercules, suffering such reverses from the brave and hardy natives, as to cause their speedy departure for Thrace and Pontus, burdened with enormous treasures, and boasting to have carried their arms to the end of the world.

Another theory of the same tendency has been stated at length by Sarmiento[1], and then controverted. Polybius, Ptolemy, Pliny, and Strabo have mentioned a people inhabiting Andalusia and the modern Algarve, differing from all their neighbours, speaking a peculiar language, using refined grammatical rules, and possessing inscribed monuments of antiquity, and poems, nay, laws in verse, which Strabo states to be "laws of six thousand years, as they say;" or by an emendation of Palmerius[2], "six thousand verses." Now, was this

[1] Obras Posthumas.

[2] ἐπῶν for ἐτῶν. Strabo, Geogr. lib. iii.

a Jewish population, descendants of the old colonists in the times of Solomon, Amaziah, and Nebuchadnezzar? It is certain that the laws of Exodus and Deuteronomy contain poems, not to mention the Psalms[1] and Proverbs. The district thus peopled included Tarshish and the chief cities of the Mediterranean coast, and abounded so much in the precious metals, that Strabo says of it: "The regions beneath the ground are, indeed, not the realm of Hades, but of Plutus." In these two respects the spirit of merchandize would be fostered. Besides that the land was most exuberant in agricultural produce, and the Jews in their own country were all agriculturists.

Reply.—These people are denominated Turdetani and Turduli, by authors whose information was extensive upon national peculiarities, and who were at least so well acquainted with the Jews, as to have been able to pronounce at once, if warranted by facts, that these Andalusians were of that nation. They were, probably, a flourishing branch of the great Celtic family, which extended

[1] The Psalms are termed *Law* in John x. 34. xv. 25. and Rom. iii. 19. But even the phrase "six thousand years, as they say," bears somewhat of a Jewish complexion. The Talmudic proverb says, that "the world endures two thousand years of confusion (i. e. before the law of Moses), two thousand the years of the law, and two thousand the years of Messiah." Sanhed. 97. 1.

from the river Oby in Russia, to Cape Finisterre on the Atlantic; but they cannot be considered Israelites. St. Augustine considers them the primitive population, and refers to their past history as affording the best specimen of the golden age.

Reviewing, thus, all the speculations which assign to the Jews a residence in Spain prior to the Christian era, they must be each and all dismissed with the negative verdict, *Not proven.* In the present age of rigorously sifting the chronicles of past generations, there is little danger of giving in to the imposture practised upon King Alonso at Toledo[1], where the Jews, asseverating that they had dwelt there ever since the first Temple of Jerusalem, adduced in proof a copy of the Hebrew epistle, with its translation in Arabic, which their forefathers had dispatched to Judæa, on the occasion of Caiaphas consulting the Toledan synagogue, as to the justice or expediency of putting to death the person named Jesus, who had assumed the august title of Messiah. They replied, that as the divine prophecies seemed to be accomplished in him, he ought not to be treated as a malefactor. Alonso, either from policy or facility of belief, respected their claim, and had the epistle further

[1] See page 16.

translated into Latin and Castilian, to be deposited in the royal archives, where it was guarded till 1494. The latter version is found in Sandoval [1].

Neither shall we allow much weight to the mere assertion that the Spanish Jews were so numerous before the fall of the latter Temple, as to invite, by deputation, the apostles of Christ to come and preach to them the new revelation. That St. James came in consequence, and, according to apostolic practice, not only proclaimed the Gospel, but in every town began by offering the law of grace to the Jews. This is heartily credited by De Vargas in the History of Merida, from the authority of Flavius Dexter, and sundry other monkish writers.

[1] Historia de los Reyes, &c. See Appendix E. This artifice was imitated some centuries afterwards by the German Jews. They exhibited a similar letter to the inspection of the Emperor and Diet at Worms; and obtained by its means some peculiar privileges. This epistle they have since published in that blasphemous book, "The Genealogy of Jesus." (Basnage.)

CHAPTER III.

EXPULSION FROM THE EAST BY TITUS AND ADRIAN—JEWS IN SPAIN.

THERE was a Jew banished into Spain by Caligula[1]. This was Herod the tetrarch, the murderer of John the Baptist. But a disgraced exile with his scanty train can reflect but little honour upon the higher pretensions of modern Rabbis: considering too that he was the son of a usurper on the throne of David, and but an Idumæan proselyte in his origin.

We now approach an epoch of which the world possesses fuller and more certain information than of earlier times, and are thus the better enabled to discriminate between the false and the true; the substance, and that which is but the baseless fabric "of a vision." Jerusalem was again overthrown, the temple burned, and "Zion ploughed as a field[2]," under Titus, son of Vespasian Cæsar.

[1] Josephus, Wars, II. ix. 6. [2] Micah iii. 12.

A chronological book called the "Order of Time[1], by R. José ben Hhilpetha, in the third or fourth century, affirms that the conqueror Aspasianus (Vespasian) " destroyed the temple, and removed many families of the house of David and Judah into Aspamia, which is Spain."

The same statement was made to St. Jerome, only changing the name Aspasian into Adrian, and enumerating the families at 50,000. It was repeated by the Jews at the Aragonese conference in 1414, with the numbers as above. Abarbanel continued the story, but severed the census into 40,000 families of Judah, and 10,000 of Benjamin and the priests. His son-in-law Menasseh ben Israel, asserting the general supremacy of Spanish Jews, and the royalty of the Abarbanel family in particular, transmitted the same fiction. To which likewise the "Sceptre of Judah" gives countenance, by stating that the multitude brought out of Jerusalem and other parts of Palestine into Spain, almost equalled in numbers that which was led out of Egypt by Moses; but that many passed thence into France and Germany.

But worldly-wise men as were Abarbanel and Ben Israel, they could not have themselves as they wrote, unless they had first procured different and

[1] Seder Olam. by Genebrard.—Basle, 1580.

more certain accounts of the Roman siege than their countryman Josephus has recorded, who was an eye-witness, and whose history was attested by Titus himself, by Herod Agrippa, and Herod king of Chalcis, as to its strict veracity. His description runs thus[1]:—

"And now since his soldiers were already quite tired of killing men, and yet there appeared to be a vast multitude still remaining alive, Cæsar gave orders that they should kill none but such as were in arms and opposed them, but should take the rest alive. But together with those whom they had orders to slay, they slew the aged and the infirm; but for those that were in their flourishing age and who might be useful to them, they drove them together into the temple, and shut them up within the walls of the court of the women; over which Cæsar set one of his freed-men, as also Fronto, one of his own friends, which last was to determine every one's fate according to his merits. So this Fronto slew all those that had been seditious or robbers, who were impeached one by another; but of the young men he chose out the tallest and most beautiful, and reserved them for the triumph: and as for the rest of the multitude that were about seventeen years old, he put them

[1] Wars, VI. ix. 2.

in bonds, and sent them into the Egyptian mines. Titus also sent a great number into the provinces, as a present to them, that they might be destroyed upon the theatres by the sword and by the wild beasts; but those that were under seventeen years of age were sold as slaves. Now during the days wherein Fronto was distinguishing these men, there perished for want of food, 11,000: some of whom did not taste any food through the hatred their guards bore to them; and others would not take in any when it was given to them. The multitude also was so very great that they were in want even of corn for their sustenance.

"Now the number of those that were carried captive during the whole war, was collected to be 97,000, as was the number of those who perished during the whole siege, 1,100,000: the greater part of whom were indeed of the same nation, but not belonging to the city itself; for they were come up from all the country to the feast of unleavened bread," &c.

The stern simplicity of this relation bespeaks its truth even without external corroboration. Before this the dreams of the Rabbis vanish. For in the first place, the Romans, while devising contrivances for the reduction of the people by tens of thousands at a time, and actually in want of bread to feed their victims till they could despatch them

away to the mines or the lions, cannot be imagined to have shipped off 50,000 families with sufficient provisions to enable these favoured persons to reach the extremity of the known world. Secondly, had such a thing been done, what a noble theme it would have proved for Josephus to exhibit either his nation's merit, or Cæsar's clemency! But no hint of the kind is found in his History. Thirdly, the numbers are greatly at variance. Josephus gives 97,000 captives for the whole war; the Rabbis enumerate 50,000 families; which, at six individuals for the average of these families, would raise the census to 300,000 removed from Jerusalem alone into the single country of Spain. Fourthly, it is certain that the wretched sufferers in the city were not exclusively belonging to Judah and Benjamin with one section of priests and Levites; for, first, Josephus states that they had come up to the feast from all parts of the country: and as we know that families of other tribes resided even in the city itself, [Luke ii. 36.] so much more in Galilee, and the Galilæans always attended the great festivals; secondly, the Jews from every nation under heaven used to come up for the same purpose [Acts ii. 5. and xxi. 27.] therefore from among the ten tribes of the Eastern dispersion. [See Acts xxvi. 7 and James i. 1.] And all the Passover worshippers were indiscriminately en-

closed, when the enemy "cast a trench about the city, and kept her in on every side."

After this great Roman vengeance of the year 72, some miserable relics of the two principal tribes continued to haunt the localities of Zion and Olivet; to these were soon associated a motley collection from every Jewish class and party, still clinging to their central home: till from the repeated demonstrations given by even these that "in their ashes glowed their wonted fires" of enmity to their masters, Adrian in the year 135 deemed it necessary to chase every Jew under penalty of death from the vicinity of Jerusalem. He erected a new city on its site with the heathen name of Ælia Capitolina, set up in it his idols, and scattered the hated people over the world, deprived of their ears and noses. It was not, then, under his directions that 40,000 families of Judah, and 10,000 of Benjamin and Levites, were transported in a united company to Spain.

Yet it is undeniable that from the very infancy of Christianity there were many Jews in that country: whether as refugees from the Eastern desolations, or as purchased slaves at the will of their proprietors. Wafted, not annihilated, by the tempest along every shore of the ocean, like the indestructible thistle-down over cliffs and rocks, they obtained, though at the setting sun, a conge-

nial place of rest, where oppression being nearly unknown for centuries, they speedily rose above poverty and degradation. The mercantile and agricultural habits which they had exercised for ages, found adapted circumstances and ample scope in the ports from Barcelona to the Tagus, with the extreme fertility of the soil for necessary food and luxurious refreshment of human life. Whether they did or did not, in the first Christian century, meet a remnant of earlier settlers from their own, the holy land; we have now to do with history, and to treat of Hebrews as a constituent portion of the Spanish population, however diversely or consentaneously they may have formed a banded race in that new and alien territory.

The Western Peninsula was the most peaceful section of the Roman empire. After the defeat of Pompey's sons, it was preserved in that state of repose most favourable to civilization and comfort for about 400 years; and though most submissive as a province, the atrocities of the detestable among the Cæsars were but little known or felt beyond the Pyrenees.

The body of the inhabitants were originally Celts. Partial conquests and settlements had been successively made by the Phœnicians and Carthaginians; the former of whom had instructed them in mining, with the culture of corn and the

vine: the latter had improved their husbandry, and introduced the olive. There were besides, some Grecian colonies on the southern coast, as Rosas, named after Rhodes; and Saguntum, from Zacynthus, now Zante.

In the reign of Tiberius, Columella had extolled the Spanish farming, and described the hemp as indigenous to the soil; the flax as naturalized from Egypt; and the produce of wood, honey, and wax, as very abundant. Under Vespasian, the Spanish mines and fisheries were represented as inexhaustible, and the cities to be 360 in number[1]. Corduba had already produced Lucan and the two Senecas to represent her literature; and four of the posterior Emperors of Rome were Spaniards, viz. Trajan, Adrian, Maximus, and Theodosius II.

The several religions in Spain, as they had advanced from the most remote epoch, were,

1. The Druidism of the Celts.
2. The human sacrifices of the Carthaginians.
3. The Classic heathenism of the Romans.
4. Christianity.

Whether the apostle James, or Paul, or Euge-

[1] These cities consisted generally of a mere village with a castle, and from the redundancy of these the land was termed χιλιόπολις.

nius the missionary from France, had first preached the gospel of redemption in Spain, it is asserted that this Eugenius had very early a church in Toledo, which thus became the metropolitan centre of its Christianity.

Such was the country at the period of the Jews resorting thither for the first time in sufficient numbers to excite attention. Their brethren were still fighting, apparently to extermination, in Egypt, Cyprus, and Palestine; but Jewish warfare is totally unknown in Spain, from the beginning to the end of their sojourn there. The insurrection of Bar Cochab in the East, which cost Israel 580,000 lives by the sword, besides the other agents of war, could affect but indirectly these western settlers, for even Gibbon allows that Jews might be tamed by leniency; as, for instance, in consequence of the humanity of Antoninus Pius: "Awakened from their dream of prophecy and conquest, they assumed the behaviour of peaceable and industrious subjects. Their irreconcileable hatred of mankind, instead of flaming out in acts of blood and violence, evaporated in less dangerous gratifications; they embraced every opportunity of over-reaching the idolators in trade, &c.[1]" This statement is made in reference to the nation

[1] Chap. xvi.

in general at a particular period; but where the same causes operate, we may look for similar peace and industry.

The Jews never became less Jewish for their residence in Spain; religion forming an essential constituent in their individual and collective existence; they combined rapidly into groups of brotherhood by ties and motives unknown to every other people. They had their pride of privilege, as the elected race, although under chastisement for a time; they had an intensity of association depending upon a language and a ritual they all but adored, and an honourable attachment to each other in the time of suffering. Under persecution, no doubt, a deep animosity rankled in the breasts of many; but they all cherished their anticipations of future bliss, however mistaken in their views of it, but of which no extent of degradation has ever deprived them. Thus their synagogues became each a rallying-point, a nucleus of families; and in Spain these multiplied with surprising facility. They were still connected with the East; for all the synagogues in Europe, Egypt, and Palestine, were ruled by the successive Patriarchs of Tiberias [1], who had been

[1] The Asiatic Jews, eastward of Jordan, continued subject in spiritual matters, and to some extent in temporals, to their Prince

allowed by rescript of Antoninus to exercise their extensive functions, and to levy a general tribute.

This spiritual government was founded on the "Traditions of the Elders," which constituted the law for regulation of devotion, and for every minute transaction in common life. As these traditions were gradually extended beyond the stretch of recollection in almost any man; as it was required that every decision should be the unanimous resolution of all the Rabbis; and as the ultimate appeal was to this Patriarch, it follows that his juridical influence and proportionable revenue must have been prodigious.

Under this form of exclusive dominion, in common with the majority of their scattered nation, but with greater advantages of worldly prosperity than the rest of the Patriarchate, we are to consider the Jews of Spain until the commencement of the fourth century. We have no information from themselves relating to these times, but may assume from that very quiescence, and the known security of the country, an omen of their general happiness.

of the Captivity at Babylon. The earliest known of these princes was Huna, in the second century.

CHAPTER IV.

COUNCIL OF ELVIRA—HISTORY OF MISHNA AND GEMARA.

A TIME at length arrived, when the little leaven of Christianity had fermented silently through the kingdoms of this world. The Roman Emperor, from a patron, became a proselyte to its doctrines, and its outward symbol, the cross, displaced the Capitoline eagles on the military and civil ensigns. "In this sign, conquer!" was the imperial motto; "In this sign, conquer!" was the devout reply, the grateful acknowledgment of every pious Christian, as he traced through the past the working of Omnipotence, and looked forward to the yet more extended and deeper victories to be achieved by the death of Jesus [1].

Councils for the settlement of church discipline, and the fixing of creeds, were now publicly sum-

[1] See John xii. 32.

moned under the protection of the highest secular authority, and twelve years after the battle of the Milvian bridge, Constantine summoned the great Council of Nice in Bithynia, at whose sessions he himself often attended. In the same year (A. D. 324,) was convened another council, in the opposite extremity of the empire, that of Elvira (Eliberis) near Granada: the first national council of Spain[1]. This assembly consisted of nineteen bishops, twenty-six (or, as another account says, thirty-six) presbyters, with the deacons and the people around[2].

The Canons they enacted are interesting in many historical points of view, but for our present purpose only as they are connected with the Jews, against whom they made some regulations. These, of course, were obeyed merely in their own congregations; for although this very year, immediately after the defeat of Licinius, Constantine had, by circular letters, *invited* all his subjects to follow his example in embracing Christianity, yet it would, perhaps, be too ample a concession to suppose that even half of the inhabitants of Spain at that time were under the ecclesiastical jurisdic-

[1] There had been provincial synods of a prior date, as Elvira, A. D. 57; Toledo, A. D. 230, &c.

[2] Collectio maxima Conciliorum Hispaniæ. Aguirre.

tion. It was not till above sixty years later that idolatry was abolished in form by the Senate of Rome. We accordingly find these Eliberitan canons forbidding the sacrifices to idols, the burning of tapers in burial-places, the placing of pictures in churches, and other superstitious practices; and from the sixtieth canon it is apparent that Christianity was as yet very far from general in the land: "If any one shall destroy an idol, and on that account be slain: since this is not commanded in the Gospel, nor known to have been ever done by the Apostles: he is not to be placed in the catalogue of the martyrs." Thus the following laws respecting the Jews would be viewed, by a neutral spectator of the period, merely as safeguards instituted by one community of religionists against the influence of another association, neither being, as yet, supreme in the country which both inhabited; although marked with this difference, that the one of these being under an obligation to sustain a spirit of proselytism, was flushed by recent success of no ordinary character; the other, purely passive, had no further relation to the other communities than that of neighbourhood. This state of things distinguishes the Council of Elvira from all its successors.

Canon XVI.

"The daughters of Catholics shall not be given in marriage to heretics, unless these shall submit themselves to the Catholic church: the same is also decreed of *Jews* and Schismatics: since there can be no communion of one that believeth with an infidel. (2 Cor. vi.) And if parents transgress this command, they shall be excommunicated for five years."

Canon XLIX.

"Landholders are to be admonished not to suffer the fruits which they receive from God with the giving of thanks, to be blessed by *the Jews*, lest our benediction be rendered invalid and unprofitable. If any one shall venture to do so after this interdiction, let him be altogether ejected from the Church."

Canon L.

"If any person, whether clerical or one of the faithful, shall take food with *the Jews*, he is to abstain from our communion, that he may learn to amend."

Canon LXXVIII.

"If any one of the faithful, having a wife, shall commit adultery with a *Jewess*, or a Pagan, he is to be cast out from our communion."

The first of these is too scriptural, and too well recommended by its useful tendency, to be neglected by conscientious Christians. The last one was, perhaps requisite in those times, when transgressors might be apt to plead for varied gradations in criminality, corresponding to the estimation in which the several religions were held.

The interference of the forty-ninth canon seems to imply that the Jews were the principal cultivators of the land, and that the people cherished some superstitious veneration for the rabbinical benediction, either pronounced in the synagogue, or over the crops standing in the field; a remnant of old feelings during pagan ignorance, just as we now detect popish habits lingering among the common people in protestant countries, long after the meaning of them is given up. The Jewish liturgies have preserved the ancient supplications for a blessing on the increase of the earth [1]. The

[1] *Great Hosannah at the New Year. Seventh kneeling.*

"O God, we beseech thee, to open thy good treasure from thy dwelling-place; and may the earth give her verdure.

"Hosannah, we pray thee, save now!

"O God, we beseech thee, let the refreshing drops satiate the verdure: and provide us a threshing and vintage.

"Hosannah, we pray thee, save now!

Christians had likewise their forms of prayer at that period, that the Almighty would "give and

"O God, we beseech thee, let the grain of the earth be multiplied by a blessing: for to eat, to satisfy, and to abound.

"Hosannah, we pray thee, save now!

"O God, we beseech thee, give now thy seal in sealing; and bless thou the wheat, the barley, and bear.

"Hosannah, we pray thee, save now!

"O God, we beseech thee, may the wind of the north give refreshing showers: and bless thou the oats and fine wheat.

"Hosannah, we pray thee, save now!

"O God, we beseech thee, may food be supplied from month to month: and bless thou the rice, millet, bean and lentile.

"Hosannah, we pray thee, save now!

"O God, we beseech thee to guard this year from the thorn and the thistle: and bless thou the oil tree and olive.

"Hosannah, we pray thee, save now!

"O God, we beseech thee, secure us from drought by refreshing showers: and bless thou the vine, the fig-tree and pomegranate.

"Hosannah, we pray thee, save now!

"O God, we beseech thee to rear up the congregation of our young ones: and bless thou the walnut, the date, and the apple.

"Hosannah, we pray thee, save now!

"O God, we beseech thee to enlarge thy hand, and increase the lightnings of heaven: Bless thou the pine-apple, almond, and bellotas (sweet acorns).

"Hosannah, we pray thee, save now!

"O God, we beseech thee, let not the righteousness of thy people be cut off: Bless thou the nectarine, apricot, and peach.

"Hosannah, we pray thee, save now!

preserve to their use the kindly fruits of the earth, so as in due time they might enjoy them."

The reason here assigned, "lest our benediction be rendered invalid and unprofitable," is perhaps intended to be a caution, lest the people should seek the Jewish rather than the Christian blessing, by *accounting* the latter unprofitable: not that these venerable bishops would express before the world a fear of the heretical benediction weakening their own when bestowed.

The fiftieth canon is directly opposed to the instruction and practice of the apostles. We read indeed of the self-righteous Pharisees refusing to eat with the Gentiles, but these were not models for imitation of Christian legislators. "Ye know how that it is an unlawful thing (according to the traditions) for a man that is a Jew to keep company, or to come unto one of another nation (or religion, the case is the same); but God hath shown me," said Peter the apostle of the circumcision,

"O God, we beseech thee, deliver this company which desires to be near thee: Bless thou the mulberry, citron and orange.

"Hosannah, we pray thee, save now!

"O God, we beseech thee, call now for abundance with the showers of heaven: and bless all manner of things planted or sown.

"Hosannah, we pray thee, save now!"

Orden de Ros Asanat y Kypur. Amst. 5412. (1652.)

"that I should call no man common or unclean[1]." There is indeed an injunction to refrain from the society of a certain class of persons. "If any man that is *called a brother*, be a fornicator, or covetous, or an idolator, or a railer, or a drunkard, or an extortioner, with such an one no not to eat[2]." But when religious creeds are in question, the very instance where this council placed its *veto*, it is written, "If any of them *that believe not* bid you to a feast, and ye be disposed to go," &c. "Whether therefore ye eat or drink, or whatsoever ye do, do all to the glory of God. Give none offence, neither to the Jews, nor to the Gentiles, nor to the Church of God[3]."

The decree confesses virtually that the Jews had become sociable with Christians since the dispersion; but instead of encouraging the change, and developing the New Testament principle of breaking down the wall of partition by a generous expansion of heart, it sets itself, in defiance of the first and purest of all Christian councils, (Acts xv. 29.) to rear up a needless obstruction. Thus Spain had already commenced her dark career of religious persecution, in which she sought and gained pre-eminence over the rest of Europe.

Had this not been done, who can calculate the

[1] Acts x. 28. [2] 1 Cor. v. 11. [3] 1 Cor. x. 27. 31, 32.

effects that might have followed their home missionary labours, "to the Jew first, and also to the Gentile [1]," "beginning at Jerusalem [2]"—at least in modifying the rising bigotry of Rabbinism, by an amenity of intercourse so to acquire that ascendancy which one of invincible suavity invariably gains over an angry opponent, until a large Jewish barrier should be founded in Spain, among the most influential of the nation, against the usurpation of the coming Talmud, an authority which can only support itself by the principle of restriction? And this, even without direct conversion, would have proved of great value. In no country were circumstances more propitious to this object than in Spain, where for three centuries and a half the sword had not been drawn.

There are several allusions in the New Testament to a system of doctrinal tradition which exercised over the people an oppressive sway. Against this influence our Lord Jesus and his followers protested with solemn earnestness and diligence; so much so, that the hostility of the two parties frequently appeared to be but a conflict between the simplicity of Moses and the Prophets on one side, and the Pharisaic traditions on the other. It is conceded in Matt. v. xv.

[1] Rom. i. 16. [2] Luke xxiv. 47.

and xxiii. that these were delivered "of old time;" they were apparently an accumulation of sayings and decisions of the ruling Pharisees since the return from Babylon. But their votaries affirm them to be an integral constitution of law, co-existent with the code of Moses, to which it should be an auxiliary, and "without which the written law appears to be imperfect[1]." These traditions were preserved unwritten, and were administered by a corporation of persons kept aloof from the rest, whose reputation for piety could alone repress the natural suspicions that would arise in any other matter, where so much temptation and opportunity existed for the forging of traditions just as circumstances might require.

This oral legislation rose in importance from the general dispersion of Israel. The Patriarch of the West dispensed its dictates, at first from the ruins of the holy city, then from Jamnia, and lastly from Tiberias, by means of agents termed apostles; but, in proportion as the people made settlements remote from the chief, the more inconvenient or impossible his administration became. To alleviate this difficulty, and yet preserve the

[1] R. Menasseh ben Israel dared not to say "*is* imperfect," so long as Deut. iv. 2. is extant.

jurisdiction entire, the patriarch R. Judah (the holy, as he is designated) committed the traditions to writing, and published the work under the name of *Mishna* (the Duplicate), purporting to embody a law hitherto unwritten, which had first been given to Moses on Mount Sinai, and from him transmitted by word of mouth, through elders, judges, prophets, and rulers of Sanhedrins, down to the said R. Judah. This document was produced to the scattered synagogues upon its own bare authentication, having never been alluded to in the writings of the prophets, &c. by whom they asserted it to have been delivered in succession; unsanctioned by any testimony of the Targums, or Maccabæan history, and after being ridiculed by Sadducees, Karaim, Samaritans, and Christians, while yet a floating tradition. As a Mosaic law it was a bold imposture; but, owing to the peculiar circumstances of the Jewish nation, it became accepted as of divine origin, and continues, along with all the nonsense appended to it since, to form the law of modern Israel to this day.

About a century later, or rather more, the college of Tiberias superadded a mass of rabbinical expositions, proverbs, allegories, legendary tales, &c. which they styled the *Gemara* (Accomplishment). This, united with the *Mishna*, makes up

the *Talmud* (or Doctrine). As this huge compilation[1] was remotely diffused, the synagogues discovered that they needed no longer to undertake expensive and laborious voyages to Judæa for final appeals. All decisions were thenceforward made from the Talmud; more especially when in another century the prince of the captivity sent forth from the banks of the Euphrates an improved Gemara, which has since almost superseded the former, and together with the Mishna forms the Babylonian Talmud.

The college of Tiberias dwindled in its influence and revenue till the beginning of the fifth century, when Theodosius the Younger deprived the patriarch Gamaliel of his title of prophet, and forbade the conveyance of tribute. Thus the office itself expired after a long tyranny, and bequeathing to the world at least one Scriptural benefit—the Masora[2].

This prodigious effort of patient industry, this single work, demands from the learned of every nation, that the Jews be considered as eminently a literary people; a character which they have not failed to uphold ever since those early ages;—

[1] Now printed in 12 vols. folio.

[2] A verification of every "jot and tittle" of the Hebrew Scriptures in a diversity of modes, for the fixing of a full and exact text of the Holy Word.

early to us, but the Hebrews were already fathers in literature before one of the present nations of Europe had its existence. To estimate their value in this respect, we must travel back by an astounding climax through the Gemara and Mishna, the Hellenic Jewish writings of Josephus, Philo, the New Testament, the Septuagint, and the Maccabees; through the minor prophets to Nehemiah, who wrote 140 years before Xenophon; to Isaiah, 700 years before Virgil; to the Proverbs and Psalms, 1040 years before Horace; to Ruth, 1030 years previous to Theocritus; and to Moses, above 1000 years the predecessor of Herodotus.

And the Israelites were alone in the popular diffusion of elementary literature. Before even entering the promised land, at a time when some would persuade us they were a wild horde of degraded and fugitive slaves, their legislator could address them in this manner: "These words which I command thee this day . . . . . thou shalt bind them for a sign upon thine hand, and they shall be as frontlets between thine eyes, and thou shalt *write* them upon the posts of thine house, and upon thy gates . . . . . and when thy son asketh thee in time to come, saying, What mean the testimonies, &c.[1]" It was long before

[1] Deut. vi. 8. &c.

a Greek lawgiver could have proclaimed such an ordinance with any chance of being obeyed by the whole population.

Jewish studies of old were certainly limited in extent, chiefly to that of the Divine Revelation, (except in the notable instances of Moses, "who was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians;" Solomon in natural history, 1 Kings iv. 29, &c.; and Daniel, whom "the king made master of the magi, astrologers, Chaldæans, and soothsayers.") But why? Hear Josephus[1]: "Our nation does not encourage those that learn the languages of many nations, and so adorn their discourses with the smoothness of their periods, because they look upon this sort of accomplishment as common, not only to free men, but to as many of the slaves as please to learn them. But they give him the testimony of being a wise man who is fully acquainted with our laws, and is able to interpret their meaning."

Considering that the Jewish law included ethics, such would no doubt have been the sentiment of Socrates and Demosthenes[2], even omitting the

[1] Antiq. xx. 11. 2.

[2] ——— Quod magis ad nos
Pertinet, et nescire malum est, agitamus.
HOR.

obligations arising from the divine origin of that volume.

These reflections, apparently uncalled for, upon the primitive literature of the Hebrews, are not altogether unimportant in our present view of them, as settled in Spain at the period of the Eliberitan Council, and during their subsequent eventful history; in which their book-learning and talents for business served to elevate them above the surrounding ignorance, and afforded them security amid political convulsions.

They were now in a condition of ease, celebrating their festivals, rejoicing in the bounties of God's workmanship, Nature—and that, too, in a luxurious climate, upon a land which comprised the gorgeous beauty of Valencia with the "fairy fields of the Minho," yet still looking through the vista of futurity towards brighter scenes than these.

CHAPTER V.

GOTHIC INVASION—THE THIRD COUNCIL OF TOLEDO.

In the middle of the fifth century, the European section of the empire became the prey of northern barbarians.

The Roman proconsuls of Spain had succeeded each other in brief and unstable authority since the palmy days of the Cæsars and Antonines, but soon after the partition of the empire by Arcadius and Honorius in 409, the Pyrenees were crossed by extensive hordes of Suevi, Alani, and Vandals; and, as it were immediately, the whole territory, from Pampeluna to Gibraltar, and thence again to Coruña, was covered and desolated by these ruthless invaders. The horrors of the time exceed all that history ever had to depict, with the solitary exception of Judæa's ruin: and appear to have had no mitigation whatever. Spain,

which had formerly ennobled her name by the resistance given to Hannibal and Cæsar, was now so enervated, that in two years the barbarians cast lots for its shares: "They wasted every thing with hostile cruelty; the pestilence was no less destructive; a dreadful famine raged to such a degree that the living were constrained to feed on the dead bodies of their fellow-citizens; and all these terrible plagues desolated at once the unhappy kingdom[1]." Procopius declines to narrate the cruelties of the invaders, lest he should afford examples of inhumanity to future ages.

Some bodies of the natives retreated to the mountains of the north, and in those rugged fastnesses maintained an independence. They are since denominated Biscayans and Basques. Five years afterwards, Adolphus, king of the Wisi (or Western) Goths, who had settled in Aquitaine, was induced to relieve Spain from these intruders upon his *ally* the Emperor of Rome. Further devastations, of course, ensued; and cities were now burned which had hitherto escaped the ravages of the Vandals. The latter preyed upon each other until, in 429, the Vandals and Alani retired to Africa, only leaving the Suevi in Spain, who were completely overthrown by Theoderic

[1] Idatii Chronicon.

the Wisi-Goth, A. D. 456, in the Roman name. This deliverer, holding there an army of occupation, was murdered and succeeded by his brother Euric, who instantly clutched the realm from even the shadow of Roman supremacy, by the capture of Tarragona, which had been their Spanish metropolis for 600 years. This was done A. D. 472, four years before the whole Western Empire was extinguished as such.

During these troubles, to which we look back as to a blood-red cloud hovering upon the land, we lose sight of the Jews, in the absence of information from themselves, from the wretched monks, or the illiterate barbarians; but as no change could take place, without materially affecting the agriculturists and traders, we may believe that they were not idle spectators. Whatever may have been their gain or loss by the wrecking of the huge empire, it is very possible that they generally regarded the event as a visitation of God's vengeance on their old oppressors. The Talmud had already taught them to identify Edom with Christianity, and every curse recorded in the Bible against Edom, they learned to believe would light upon the European nations. It may have been therefore, that when they saw the Roman dominion first halved, and then that half which had most afflicted them, ground to powder: they

might, while recurring to the 137th Psalm, have laid a peculiar emphasis on the three last verses. One thing is certain, that very soon after the Gothic royalty was established, the Jews were still very numerous and influential: they probably suffered least, from having resisted least the fury of the invaders.

By an arrangement with Odoacer the Ostro (Eastern) Goth, Spain and Gaul became the allotted portion of the Wisi-Goths, and these held their regal courts at Arles or Bordeaux, until the Frank tribes, spreading westward from the Rhine, drove the Goths as far as the Pyrenees, and gave the name of France to their acquired territory. The rivalry of these nations was exasperated the more by a religious animosity. Alas! that these two words should ever meet together. The Franks held to the Catholic doctrine of Athanasius and the Nicene creed; the court of Toledo and the majority of Spain to the Arian side of the great controversy: with these the Jews sided, not only for the sake of protection, by adhering to one party, but because the Arian doctrine was much the least offensive to their own prejudices; and this course they had uniformly adopted in Asia and Africa.

There existed, however, a virulent struggle within the Peninsula concerning orthodoxy and

heterodoxy; the Catholics producing miracles to attest the patronage of heaven to their doctrine and ritual, or frequently exciting political insurrections against the tolerant rule of the Arians. At length, after the unnatural rebellion of Hermenegild the Catholic against his heretic father, and the dreadful issue, his execution in the tower of Seville; on the death of the king, his next son, Recared, succeeded to the throne, and his first act was to recal the bishops who had been banished for aiding in the treason of Hermenegild, and with them to convene the third council of Toledo. At this convocation he publicly adopted the Nicene doctrine of the Trinity, and the Deity of the world's Saviour.

The Catholics, now triumphant, became, as might be expected, stern and persecuting in proportion to the effort they had employed to gain the ascendancy. Would that they had, while fixing the national Church upon the divine nature of Christ, but imbibed more of the large benevolence of His Spirit!

The Council [1].

"In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. In the fourth year of Recared, our most glorious

[1] Collectio maxima, &c. Aguirre.

lord the king, the 25th of May 627[1], this sacred assemblage was held in the royal city of Toledo, by the undersigned bishops of all Spain, and of Gaul." (i. e. Aquitaine.)

"When in the sincerity of his faith, the said most glorious prince commanded a convocation of the prelates throughout his dominions, that they might rejoice in the Lord on account of his conversion and the reformation of the Gothic people, and also render thanks for so great a blessing; that most sacred prince did thus address the venerable council, saying:—

"'I believe it to be not unknown to you, most renowned prelates, that my purpose in summoning you to our serene presence, is, the restoration of Ecclesiastical discipline. And whereas the heresy which has impended over the past times would not suffer the synodal decrees to take effect throughout the Catholic Church; God, who has been pleased by our means to chase away that heretical impediment, has admonished us to reform in fitting manner the Ecclesiastical institutions,' &c.

"Hereupon giving thanks to God, and the

[1] According to the æra of Cæsar, which was 38 years in advance of the Christian date, and was used by all Christians in Spain till A.D. 1353.

whole council acclaiming praises to the most religious prince, a fast of three days from that time was proclaimed.

"But upon the appointed 25th of May, the priests of God assembled in one body, and, after solemn prayer, each priest had taken his appropriate seat; then in the midst of all, the most serene prince arose, and joining in prayer with the priests of God, and filled with divine impulse, he thus addressed them:—

"'This sacred assembly is well aware how long Spain has been oppressed with the heresy of the Arians,' &c. After this address, the articles of faith were drawn up; in accordance with which, the king and queen took the following oath:—

"'I, Recared, the king, holding sincerely that holy faith and true confession which alone and every where the Catholic Church confesses, and affirming it with my mouth, have subscribed thereto with my own right hand, by the help of God.'

"'I, Baddo[1], the glorious queen, have subscribed with my hand to this faith, which with all my heart I believe and accept.'

"Then were acclamations made by all the clergy, to the praise of God, and honour of the king.

[1] Daughter, it is said, to the British king Arthur.

"'Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost; whose care it is to provide peace and unity for his holy Catholic Church.'

"'Glory be to Jesus Christ our *Lord*[1], who has by the price of his own blood collected his Catholic Church from among all nations.'

"'Glory be to Jesus Christ our *Lord*[1], who has brought in so illustrious a nation to the true faith, and has made 'one fold and one Shepherd.'

"'On whom will God bestow eternal merit, but on Recared the true Catholic king?'

"'On whom will God bestow an eternal crown, but on Recared the orthodox king?'"

This was a memorable day for the Spanish Church, because upon it a termination was given to the bickerings and contests of nearly 200 years. No doubt the king had previously calculated upon the accession of talents, wealth, and popular influence which this proceeding gained for him, as well as upon the amity to be thus procured with neighbouring states. It was both humane and kingly to do so, however intelligent and heartfelt

[1] Some copies have the word *God* in these places; and it is not unlikely that in their zeal the council employed this equally Scriptural designation. See Acts xx. 28.

his assent might be to the Catholic belief, while on the part of the clergy there was much of bitterness in their ascendancy:

"Whosoever despises the creed of the Nicene council, let him be anathema!

"Whosoever is not, and shall not be content with this faith, let him be anathema maranatha unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ!"

O how these words would have thrilled in the hearts of the Hebrew Spaniards, could they have foreseen, even in a comparatively small degree, to what an extent their fellow men would thereafter work out these anathemas with their own hands upon all their victims, and every Jew between the Pyrenees and the Western ocean would that day have bowed his head with the utterance of one long and mournful groan.

The council, in secular capacity[1], enacted the two following canons.

XIV.

"Conformably to the opinion of the council, our glorious lord (the king) has ordered to be in-

[1] The ancient councils of Spain were not purely ecclesiastical in their functions: on the fourth day of session they formed themselves into cortes, when, secular barons being admitted, they deliberated on state affairs.

serted among the canons, that it shall not be permitted for Jews to have Christian wives or concubines [1], or to purchase Christian slaves for their own service; and all children born of such union are to be brought to baptism; neither shall they hold any public office by virtue of which any punishment may be inflicted on Christians; and if Christians (slaves) be circumcised, their freedom shall be restored without payment of ransom, and they revert to the Christian religion [2]."

This was the earliest aggression in Spain upon Jewish emoluments, property, and family ties.

Canon XXII.

"The corpses of all the faithful are to be interred with psalms and hymns; no funeral cries

[1] This word bore a different signification to that which we now attach to it. It denoted wives of a secondary grade, such as were Hagar, Bilhah, and Zilpah in Genesis. Their children were legitimate and themselves honoured, but less so than the full wife, whom alone the husband endowed with all his worldly goods. The practice was common to Christians as well as Jews. (See Sparrow on Common Prayer.)

[2] Of course all were accounted *Christians* who were not born *Jews*. Now a Jew is bound by his law to circumcise his slave as well as his own son (Gen. xvii. 13.) and to do so had not yet been forbidden by the law of the land; therefore if this enactment was to operate retrospectively, the taking away such a slave was so much loss to the Jew, and effected by an *ex post facto* legislation.

to be allowed, nor beating of the breast[1]. ('But I would not have you ignorant, brethren, concerning them which are asleep, that ye sorrow not as those which have no hope.') Moreover the Lord did not weep for the *death* of Lazarus, but rather on account of his restoration to the cares of this life. So it behoves Christians all over the world."

This enactment is to be taken in connexion with the following one of the council of Narbonne in the same year, and under the same king and government.

Canon IX.

"This above all is decreed, that Jews shall not be suffered to bear the bodies of their dead with the singing of psalms; but to observe their ancient custom of carrying and depositing them. And in penalty for transgression of this decree, six ounces (of gold) shall be paid to the count of the city."

Hence we learn that the Jews were desirous

[1] A Jewish practice, (See Jer. ix. 20, 21; Nahum ii. 7.) but among the mass of the people a relict of Phœnician habits, or of the Celtic, and thus indentified with the caoíneadh of their brother Celts in Ireland.

to imitate the Christian custom at burials [1], but that the ecclesiastics were resolved to draw a broad distinction between the cheerful hope of the Christian in his death, and the prospect of such as can have no portion in Christ's resurrection. It is painful to reflect that this people would not feel the restriction as a penalty.

Such was the third council of Toledo, a conspicuous landmark in Church history. At its conclusion the Jews endeavoured to bribe the king for a mitigation of its severity, by a large sum of money, but in vain [2]. Recared dispatched ambassadors to Rome, announcing the transaction to Pope Gregory the Great. The accompanying presents of gold and jewels were graciously accepted, and in return the now Catholic monarch received a complimentary epistle [2], and some trumpery as relics of the saints, among which was a key having in its composition some particles of iron filed from St. Peter's chains.

Henceforward the public institutions of Church and State acquired progressive stability. In the latter, the Gothic freedom was preserved amid many storms (compatible however with the tenure

[1] About A.D. 420, the Jews at Poitiers voluntarily sang Hebrew chaunts at the funeral of good bishop Hilary.

[2] D. Gregorii Epistolæ. Hispaniæ Bibliotheca, by Peregrinus.

of prædial serfs and of the still lower domestic slaves); and in the former, they acknowledged the nominal supremacy of the Romans, but appointed their own bishops, and used their own national liturgy.

CHAPTER VI.

BAPTISMAL PERSECUTION OF THE JEWS BY KING SISEBUT.

After more than twenty years of civil discord, and the assassination of two sovereigns, we find Sisebut, a vigorous and ambitious prince, upon the throne. He held the reins with a firm hand; and after the establishment of security and union, he began to form armaments at sea for the protection of his coasts, and also as an instrument of African invasion; "for it is certain," says Mariana, "that the land always succumbs to the master of the sea, as Themistocles was aware."

In A.D. 614, this king had an embassy at Constantinople for a negociation touching certain towns in Spain and Lusitania, which the Oriental Romans possessed in recompense for services rendered above sixty years before in a contested succession to the Gothic crown. The emperor Heraclius was much addicted to the

study of judicial astrology, the professors of which had assured him that his dominions, nay the whole of Christendom, was in danger from the *circumcised race.* "And this, which he ought to have understood of the *Arabs*, he believed to denote the *Jews;* whereupon he set about persecuting that nation by all means and measures in his power [1]."

The emperor's political position was this: his dominions were contracted within very narrow limits; for the Magian fire-worshippers under Chosroes, aided by the Arabs, and 26,000 Asiatic *Jews*, had that very year deprived him of Palestine; and after the slaughter of 90,000, Christians in Jerusalem, had carried off the *True Cross* into Persia, and were then threatening Egypt. Towards Europe his capital had been recently almost entered by the Avars of the north, who carried off 270,000 captives beyond the Danube. Moreover in the back ground there was a serpent writhing into vigour, for about five years before had Mohammed announced himself to forty of his tribe as the commissioned apostle of God. At this climax of irritation, Theodoric the envoy arrived from Spain. The emperor urged, as a primary condition of the treaty, the banish-

[1] Mariana—Gregory of Tours—Bartoloccio.

ment of all Jews from the Peninsula, denouncing at the same time his utmost vengeance upon those implacable foes of the human race; and it is known that some years afterwards, on his triumphal entry into Jerusalem, bearing with him the accredited wood of the cross of Calvary, he amply redeemed his threat to retaliate upon the Jews.

Theodoric returned to Toledo, where his sovereign was but too ready to fulfil the imperial desire; and a proclamation was issued, which is thus preserved in the "Fuero Juzgo:"

"Whereas truth itself instructs us to *ask*, and to *knock*, assuring us that *the kingdom of heaven* suffereth violence: it cannot be doubted that whosoever fails to approach it with an ardent desire, is a despiser of the proffered grace.

"Wherefore, if any of those Jews as yet unbaptized, shall delay to be himself baptized, or neglect to send his children and slaves to the priest for baptism while it is offered[1], thus abiding without the grace of baptism, for the space of one year from the issue of this decree: every such transgressor, wherever found, shall be stripped, and shall suffer one hundred lashes, as likewise the due penalty of exile: his goods shall be forfeit to

[1] This of course involved the renunciation of circumcision and the whole Judaic system.

the king; and in order that his life may be the more painful, if unamended, such goods shall become the perpetual property of those on whom the king shall bestow them."

Now besides regarding this proceeding as indicative of a barbarian's ignorance, it was a violent invasion of Jewish rights guaranteed to them in Spain, three hundred years before the Goths had invaded the land; for, by rescript of Antoninus Pius, they were allowed full toleration of religion, and freedom of circumcision—privileges, which no council or king had, as yet, ventured to infringe. Sisebut has also incurred the censure of ecclesiastical writers, for having not merely overpassed his royal duties, but even the divine commission of the Church. St. Isidore of Seville, who lived at the time, writes thus in his "Chronicle of the Goths" some years afterwards:—

"Sisebut reigned six years and six months after his call to the royalty: who, in the commencement of his reign, by urging the Jews into Christianity, had indeed 'a zeal for God, but not according to knowledge.' (Rom. x.) For he forcibly compelled those whom he should rather have persuaded by argument of the faith."

And, in later times, the Jesuit Mariana records the event with this remark:—

"Sisebut . . . . . not only banished the Jews

from Spain and all the Gothic territory, as the emperor had requested, but with threats and force he compelled them to be baptized: which is a thing unlawful and forbidden, that Christians should employ violence upon the will of any. And, moreover, this rash determination of Sisebut was contrary to the advice of the more prudent at the time, as St. Isidore testifies. Among the Gothic laws, called the "Fuero Juzgo," there are two to this effect, decreed by Sisebut in the fourth year of his reign. But as things were begun at the wrong end, we need not wonder that he erred; for the king made himself judge of what should have been decided by the prelates. The kingly office is to rule in secular matters, but all that pertains to religion and spiritual government, is the charge of ecclesiastics. Yet, alas! the self-will and obstinacy of princes are very great, and frequently are bishops obliged to dissemble in what they cannot remedy."

The Jewish history of the event is as follows[1]; but it is proper to remark, that it was written about nine hundred years afterwards:—

"The most powerful of the Romans [i. e. Christians] was Sisebut. He commanded all the Jews in Spain to be baptized; offering to make them

[1] Sceptre of Judah, p. 93.

equal with Christians in every respect, if they would consent. The Jews assembled from every city, within the capital; where fasting and afflicting themselves, they uttered loud wailings and cries. The Christians inquired the meaning of this; and when informed, they bade them submit to the king's command, 'for he is a valiant king, firm, decided, and immoveable by bribes. If ye obey not, he will compel you, and your fasting will profit you nothing.' They answered: 'The precept of circumcision is the hinge of all our law[1]: he asks but one compliance, but we know that he requires the whole; and it is better for us all to die than to omit the slightest of our precepts, lest we pluck up the hinge of all our religion.

"They then approached the king, and showed how he had decreed the death of them all; for they would not transgress any precept of the law, much less that which is the hinge of all. The king replied: 'Ye wretched and foolish people! it is by God's ordinance that ye are groaning in affliction; the realm shall speedily be freed from that obstinacy by which ye are hastening your own ruin, aiming to usurp, and to retain by force,

[1] "Circumcision is equivalent to all the commandments in the law." Rashi, Nadarim. fol. 31. Coll. 2.

the dominion of this land. I swear, that unless ye accept Christ's baptism, ye will drive me to enforce your abandonment of all the law of Moses.' Then he proclaimed that except they submitted within a month to the Christian baptism, he would make them renounce the whole law, or put them to death. The Jews supplicated the nobles, presenting gold and silver, that they would induce the king to leave them their religion, though he should deprive them of all their wealth, which he might employ in war. The king added: 'In that case I could not uphold my character for piety among my fellow kings; they would suppose that I only made this decree as a means of extortion from my Jews, and not from the urgent necessity of baptism: besides, I do not constrain these wretches of the law to embrace our faith, for the sake of their riches, so much as from the consideration that they would do the same to us, were they to become our masters.'

"Then answered Robert the Wise: 'O king, our Master Moses, and his minister Joshua, urged no people to receive the Hebrew law, but only the seven precepts of Noah, which are—

"'1. To avoid idolatry.

"'2. Not to eat flesh cut from a living animal.

"'3. To avoid reviling God.

"'4. To avoid adultery.

"5. To avoid rapine.

"6. To avoid murder.

"7. To appoint magistrates.

"These had been delivered as precepts by Adam, the first man. And whenever Joshua besieged a city, he first proclaimed thus: 'Whosoever will make peace, let him do so; but let him observe the seven precepts of Noah: if not, let him quit the city; or if he will fight, let him come down and try the contest.'

"The king rejoined: 'Joshua acted as he pleased, and so will I: I will select from his three conditions that which best suits my design; viz. that instead of the seven precepts of Noah, which Joshua obtruded on the profane heathen, ye shall receive the Christian baptism.' Then he added, 'I counsel you, for your salvation's sake, which ye will assuredly forfeit by persisting to refuse it; for I have been informed by the bishops, what I have likewise heard from the pontiff himself, that such as do not expiate their guilt by Christian baptism, are to be accounted impure, and will perish everlastingly.'

"One of the learned Jews then said: 'It is written in our law, that Israel formerly despised the great gift of God, 'the land flowing with milk and honey,'—I ask, O king, what should be the penalty of those who despise the gift of God?'

The king replied, 'That too is wisely stated in your law; the loss of what they despise.' The speaker continued: 'See then, O king, to what thou hast said. Thou hast offered us in baptism a life everlasting. Be then the penalty for its neglect, the loss of that blessing.' But the king answered, 'Compulsion is unjust in matters concerning the body, and that goodly land related to the body; but in things spiritual, it is proper, just as a child is coerced in his learning.'

"Instantly he commanded all the principal Jews to be put in chains, and they passed in darkness a life more wretched than death. Many synagogues in Spain, overborne by cruel persecutions, renounced the law of Moses. When the king died, and there was freedom to leave the country, many sought and found securer settlements for their religion, but many sought and found not."

Several curious particulars might be gathered from the above dialogue, if it could be depended on as an exact report, made after an interval of nine centuries.

Among Catholic historians, John, the brother of Olaus Magnus, is transported with delight at the great piety of Sisebut.—"The king did not say, I will first care for my realm and secure my throne, and then restore the decaying cause of

Christ; but he first of all was careful that the honour due to the divine Majesty should be fully rendered by all the people under him; and he omitted nothing which seemed necessary to the increase and conservation of Christianity. And so great was his zeal for the said most holy faith, that by his *religious exhortation*, ninety thousand Jews were converted to Christ, and received the sacrament of baptism. Wherefore in the sacred Decretals, especially in the chapter 'On Baptism, and its effect,' he is styled 'the most religious prince[1].'"

And St. Isidore of Seville, although, as we have seen, he blames his sovereign (after his death) for having exceeded his legitimate authority, yet exclaims with rapture, "But, as it is written, 'Whether in pretence or in truth, Christ is preached, and I therein do rejoice, yea, and I will rejoice.' (Phil. i.)"

The number of subjects to this violent christening seems surprisingly large, but all historians concur in the same estimate; and perhaps it is not overcharged; for the Jews had been at least 600 years in the country, enjoying a good average share of prosperity; they had "turned their swords

[1] Hist. Gothorum Suenonumque, lib. xvi. c. 14.

into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks," while their brethren of Syria, Egypt, Mauritania, and Italy, had taken their share in the warfare of the times. To make these substitute one set of religious ordinances for another, was deemed conversion, by the already corrupted Church; it being the main error of the age, fraught with serious evils in this life, as it must ever be injurious to practical godliness, that baptism is, intrinsically, the laver from original sin and past transgression. According to this unscriptural doctrine, it was in the present instance not only a ruinous infidelity to reject the initiatory sacrament; but, conversely, it was advantageous to the souls of 90,000 persons to become unwilling hypocrites in receiving it. St. Isidore and Mariana are insincere in throwing the odium upon king Sisebut; the transaction was that of the Church; for with all his peremptory violence, neither the monarch nor his soldiers could administer the rite of baptism, and no Gothic king was ever so much of a despot as to entrench upon the offices of the Church.

The converts were, of course, Jews in secret, and fortunately for them, the Inquisition was not yet invented for investigating their private life, and bringing them to the flames by thousands, if

detected in hypocrisy. But many fled across the Pyrennees, and there found that the Frankish king Dagobert had been likewise induced by Heraclius to use extreme measures with the Jews[1]. Dagobert, scorning to yield in point of religion to the Gothic zeal[2], chased away not only the recent refugees, but also the old settlers in his realm, offering the single alternative of baptism, which many accepted.

The people thus oppressed were descendants of the Maccabæan armies, and countrymen of Josephus. The Jews of Naples had recently fought with desperation against Belisarius, merely in defence of their native place, when their deeply imbued religion was not called in question. These however were too far sunk under previous encroachments, and softened by peaceful habits, to show that in a land abounding with mountain-passes, a wealthy population of 100,000, and more, could not be crushed at the first blow, even by Goths; but could a fugitive obtain no rest for the sole of his foot, though he relinquished his property, his home-born ties, and connections? He could not, for in passing from the land which had hitherto

[1] Mariana.

[2] "Turpe autem videbatur Franco . . . Gothis religione cedere." Bartoloccio, Bibl. Rabb. iii. 709.

proved his nation's best asylum, every such individual found accomplished in himself that ancient prophecy—" They shall go out from one fire, and another shall devour them [1]."

[1] Ezekiel xv. 7.

CHAPTER VII.

FOURTH COUNCIL OF TOLEDO—ST. ISIDORE OF SEVILLE ON THE JEWS.

NINETEEN years elapsed, and the fourth council of Toledo was summoned. The occasion was this:—

Sisenand, a daring soldier, had bribed the king of the Franks with ten pounds weight of gold, to aid in deposing the reigning sovereign Suintila, and in the establishment of himself upon the throne to be thus vacated. This was effected, and the last descendant of Recared reduced to a private station.

Such opportunities are seldom passed over in constitutional monarchies without the binding of some new contract between the usurper and the subject; or some remarkable concession being made to popular feeling. The clergy were on the alert.

In the third year of this reign (A.D. 633,) there

were convened at Toledo, sixty-two bishops of Spain and of the province beyond the Pyrennees, four presbyters, and three archdeacons who were vicars for bishops. These were headed by the Venerable Isidore of Seville.

The business for discussion lay in four main subjects. 1. The confirmation of the king's title. 2. The adoption of the Fuero Juzgo, for a code of laws, the foundation of which had been laid by Euric, and had received additions continually since. 3. The sanction of a public Liturgy, which had been compiled by Leander the preceding, and Isidore the actual bishop of Seville: and, 4. to make regulations concerning the Jews.

Sisenand, at the opening of the session, *cast himself on the ground* before the assembly, and in return the dynasty of his family was thus sanctioned by the seventy-fifth Canon. "Whosoever shall resist this decree, let him be Anathema Maranatha, that is to say, Perdition, till the coming of the Lord; and may he have his lot with Judas Iscariot, both he and his associates. Amen [1]." The usurper could scarcely have desired a more loyal pledge of submission than this vote afforded.

The decisions regarding the Jews are copious,

[1] Collectio Maxima &c. Aguirre.

and framed to meet the following emergency. Since the reign of Sisebut, many of the exiled Jews had returned, and many of those baptized by constraint, had renounced their novel vows, and with the rest were openly professing the Judaic creed and practices. In their anxiety to eradicate entirely that reprobate religion, the council enacted :—

"CANON 57.

"Concerning Jews, this holy synod has resolved to compel no one hereafter to accept our faith. For God 'hath mercy on whom he will have mercy, and whom he will, he hardeneth:' and such persons are not saved without consent, but willingly, that the attribute of Justice may be kept secure. For as man by his own free-will, in yielding to the serpent, did perish; so when the grace of God doth call, each man is saved in believing, by the conversion of his own mind. Therefore they are not to be urged by constraint, but persuaded through the free faculty of the will into conversion.

"Respecting those already forced into Christianity, as was done in the time of the most religious prince Sisebut, since it is evident that they have been partakers in the Divine sacraments, have received the grace of baptism, have been

anointed with the chrism[1], and have received the body and blood of our Lord, it is right that these be obliged to retain the faith which, although under compulsion and necessity, still they have undertaken, lest the name of God be blasphemed, and the faith which they have assumed be accounted worthless and despicable.

"CANON 58.

"So great is the cupidity of some, that through covetousness, as the apostle saith, 'they have erred from the faith.' Many of both clergy and laity, have, by accepting gifts from the Jews, bestowed their patronage on infidelity, and deservedly are such to be distinguished as belonging to Antichrist, who act against Christ. Whosoever therefore from henceforth, bishop, priest, or layman, shall afford to them his suffrage for reward or favour, in disparagement of the Christian faith, let him become an alien from the Catholic Church and the kingdom of God, as a truly profane and sacrilegious person. For it is just that he should be severed from the body of Christ, who makes himself a patron of Christ's enemies.

[1] Employed in baptism, together with breathing by the priest for the expulsion of evil spirits (John xx. 22); and immersion, to

"CANON 59.

"Many who were formerly exalted to the Christian faith, are now known not only in blasphemy against Christ to perpetrate Jewish rites, but have even dared to practise the abomination of circumcision. Concerning such, by the counsel of our most pious and religious prince, Sisenand the king, this sacred synod hath decreed, that transgressors after this sort, being apprehended by authority of the prelates, shall be recalled to the true worship according to Christian doctrine: so that those whom their own will cannot amend, may be coerced by sacerdotal correction. Also, such persons as they may have circumcised, if children of the above, shall be removed from association with the parents; and, if slaves, shall, in compensation for the injury, be made free.

"CANON 60.

"We decree that the sons and daughters of Jews are to be separated from the parents, lest they be likewise involved in their errors. To be placed either in monasteries, or with Christian men and women who fear God, that from their conversation they may learn the worship of the true

represent being buried with Christ in baptism (Col. ii. 12), which was repeated thrice, in the name of the Holy Trinity (Matt. xxviii. 19).—See Sparrow on the Common Prayer.

faith, and thus instructed for the better, may be improved both in morals and belief.

"CANON 61.

"Baptized Jews, if afterwards they renounce Christ, and so become amenable to any penalty, their believing children shall not be excluded from inheriting their property, for it is written, 'The son shall not bear the iniquity of the father.'

"CANON 62.

"The company of the wicked doth frequently corrupt even the good, how much more those who are inclined to vice! Let there be therefore no further communion of Jews who have been *transferred* to the Christian faith, with such as adhere to their ancient rites: lest perchance by mingling with them, they be subverted. Whosoever therefore of the baptized shall not shun the society of unbelievers, these latter shall be given to Christians[1], and the former be delivered to public scourging.

"CANON 63.

"Jews having Christian wives, are to be admonished by the bishop of their diocese, that if they desire to abide with them, they must become

[1] As serfs or slaves.

Christians; and if, being so admonished, they refuse to obey, they shall be separated. Since an unbeliever cannot remain in wedlock with her who has *become* a Christian, and the offspring of such persons are to follow the faith of their mother. Likewise, those born of unbelieving mothers and believing fathers, are to follow the Christian religion, not the Jewish superstition.

"CANON 64.

"He cannot be true to man who is faithless towards God. Therefore Jews who were formerly Christians, but are now deniers of the faith in Christ, are not to be admitted in evidence, although they declare themselves Christians. For if suspected touching faith in Christ, they are insecure for human testimony: no trust can be placed in the testimony of such as are trained in the belief of falsehood; nor is credit due to those who reject the belief of truth.

"CANON 65.

"This holy council has decreed by command of the most excellent lord and king, Sisenand, that Jews and their descendants are not to pursue public employments, because by such means a scandal would be given to Christians. Wherefore, the provincial judges, with the priests, are to obstruct all fraudulent creeping into such employ-

ments, and prevent their success. But if any judge shall tolerate such proceedings, he is to be excommunicated as for sacrilege, and he who shall obtain the office is to be publicly scourged.

"CANON 66.

"By decree of the most glorious prince, this council has resolved:—That no Jews shall have Christian servants, nor purchase Christian slaves, neither hold such by gift from any person. For it is shameful that the members of Christ should serve the ministers of Antichrist. And if, henceforward, any Jews shall dare to retain Christian slaves of either sex, these shall be released and restored to freedom."

The first of these enactments is lauded for its Christian clemency, and probably, its formal recognition of the right to voluntary belief was effected by the influence of St. Isidore. Yet, if so, he gained but little; for it is violated in the Canon 60, and the provision at its close is both foolish and cruel. The real blasphemy of God's name and holy faith, lay in the profane administration of the sacraments to improper subjects, and this was an act of the clergy themselves; but, for Christian priests to retract a previous error or crime, can never be sinful; yet, shielded by this pretext, they stoop not to make the poor reparation

to those they have wronged, of removing that wrong: they rather act it out to the utmost, and perpetuate its grievance from generation to generation, as we see in those infamous canons which follow.

What! shall he who has been thus insulted with acknowledged iniquity and profanity, if discovered in conversation with one of his friends not thus degraded, be publicly scourged, while the other is consigned to slavery? [Canon 62.] And one who has undergone this solemn mockery, but afterwards follows his own belief, shall he, when plundered of his property, or assaulted by armed ruffians (provided these have been christened) have no redress at a legal tribunal? [Canon 64.] Shall a Christian wife be torn from her unconvinced husband, because she has herself discovered the truth of Christianity[1]? or by another operation of the same decree, shall a faithless wife cause herself to be divorced from her family, by simply embracing the Christian name? [Canon 63.] Again, in that age it was an infringement upon the rights of property, (such property as it was) to proclaim emancipation to the slaves on the mere condition of submitting to be bap-

[1] For the contrary, see 1 Cor. vii. 10. 13. 14. Was the mother of Timothy thus divorced?

tized. [Canon 66.] These slaves were principally heathen captives from the swarms of barbarians which then infested Europe. The French and Italian councils, as well as the papal epistles of the period, abound in complaints of Jews holding slaves that professed Christianity. By some regulations they were compelled to sell their slaves for twelve solidi (shillings) each. It cannot be easily determined now, whether or not this was a fair price for the blood and sinews of a man; but the Canon before us was in every way unjust.

And what shall be said in regard to the 60th Canon? that foul abomination enacted by grave teachers of the Gospel. Surely such barbarity could not have been conceived but in a conclave of celibates[1], who had never, any one of them, felt his offspring clinging about his neck. Surely such a resolution was a deep offence before the watchful eye, and to the tender heart of Jesus Christ.

It is not now considered how far it may have been just, or politically urgent (too often perversely confounded) to provide the 58th and 65th Canons.

[1] The vice of celibacy had already crept into the Spanish church. About 60 years later, king Witisa offended the clergy by granting them indulgence to marry.

They were not novelties, but appear to have been frequently evaded for money's sake. The haughty sensitiveness of the Gothic hidalgo on this point is still shared even by nations who boast of popular freedom and broad toleration.

St. Isidore was president of this council; but the Canons thus promulgated, and his exclamation in narrating the violence of Sisebut ("I therein do rejoice; yea, and will rejoice!") would lead to an erroneous estimate of his whole character.

The following extracts from his writings will exhibit his deliberate sentiments respecting the Jews, as a theologian, in frequent contact with that people. In literary attainments he has been eulogized by his surviving friend, St. Ildefonso of Toledo, for a delightful flow of eloquence which enchanted by its suavity; and his books show him to have been well versed in Latin literature [1] and in the sacred Scripture.

"COMMENT ON GENESIS iv.

"God inquired of Cain, not as one in ignorance, and needing information, but as a judge, when

[1] "His writings are valuable for the numerous extracts they contain from Latin books which are now lost ..... The works of Isidore were of great use in the subsequent ages, in which the ancients were little read."—Enfield's History of Philosophy.

about to punish a criminal. 'Where is thy brother?' He replied, that he knew not, for he was not his brother's keeper. And to this day what do the Jews reply, when we interrogate them in the voice of God, that is, of Holy Scripture, concerning Christ. They answer, that they know not. But the ignorance of Cain was untrue, and the denial of the Jews is a falsehood; for they might have been in a certain sense the keepers of Christ, had they accepted and retained the Christian faith.

"God said to Cain, 'What hast thou done? the voice of thy brother's blood crieth unto me from the ground.' And thus in Holy Scripture doth the Voice Divine plead with the Jews; for the blood of Christ has a loud voice upon earth [1], and when received among all nations they respond to it, Amen! This is the clear voice of Christ's blood, uttered by the blood itself from the mouths of the faithful, who are redeemed by that same blood.

"God said to Cain, 'Cursed art thou from the earth, which hath opened her mouth to receive thy brother's blood from thy hand.' He said not, 'Cursed is the earth,' but 'the earth which hath opened,' &c. and accursed indeed are the faithless people of the Jews 'from the earth,' i. e. from

[1] The same idea occurs in St. Augustine against Faustus. xii. 20.

the Church, which hath opened her mouth in declaration of all the iniquities by the hand of the persecutor, who would not be under grace but under the law.

—"'A fugitive and a vagabond shalt thou be,' or as in the LXX, 'groaning and trembling shalt thou be in the earth.' And now who does not see and acknowledge, in whatever land the Jews are cast, that they are *fugitives* among the nations, and *wanderers* from Jerusalem? how they *groan* with lamentation for their lost country, and *tremble* with dread, amid the manifold kingdoms of Christians?

—"'Then answered Cain, My iniquity is greater than can merit pardon [1]; behold, thou hast driven me out, &c.' But what did the Lord God reply? 'It shall not be so; but whosoever slayeth Cain, vengeance shall be taken on him sevenfold;' or, as in the LXX, 'he shall pay seven revenges;' that is to say, 'Not by corporeal death shall the impious race of carnal Jews be destroyed, but whosoever slays them, shall render seven revenges; that is, He will exact seven revenges from all such as afflict them on account of the guilt of Christ's death. For in all this time, now in the *seventh* century, it is evident to all faithful Chris-

[1] According to the Vulgate and the Septuagint.

tians, that the Jewish nation has not perished, but has only deserved subjection and dispersion, according to the Scripture, 'Slay them not, lest they forget thy law; scatter them by thy power, and bring them down.' (Ps. lix.)

—"'And the Lord set a mark upon Cain, lest any finding him should kill him.' This is indeed a surprising fact, that whereas other nations when subdued by the Romans, embraced the Roman religion, yet the Jewish people, whether under the Pagan or the Christian emperors, never abandoned the *mark* of the law and circumcision, by which they are distinguished from other nations.

—"'And he went out from the presence of the Lord, and dwelt in the land of Nod,' which is, by interpretation, commotion, or instability, or fluctuation, and of uncertain home. Against such a calamity God is entreated in Ps. lxvi. 'Give not my feet to be *moved:*'—Ps. xxxvi. 'Let not the hand of the wicked *remove* me:'—Ps. xiii. 'And those that trouble me rejoice when I am *moved:*"—Ps. xvi. 'God is at my right hand, I shall not be *moved.*' But now the Jews, and all such as are contumacious in resisting the truth by their divers errors, do *remove* 'from the face of the Lord,' that is, from his grace, and the participation of his light, and they dwell in exile in the land of restlessness, in carnal uneasiness,

far from delight, that is, Eden (or pleasure) in which the paradise was placed."

This long extract gives a fair specimen of the mode of interpreting Scripture which prevailed among the ancient Christian Fathers, few of whom have been more successful in tracing allegories than St. Isidore has proved in this parallelism of Cain and the Jews. Perhaps, however, the resemblance would have acquired a deeper intensity from the consideration that the blood which cried from the earth against Israel was their own brother's blood, for "it is evident that our Lord sprang out of Judah." (Heb. vii. 14.) His own brethren "according to the flesh," exclaimed, "Crucify him," and that crime which is specified as completing the measure of iniquity at the first desolation of Jerusalem, was the shedding of innocent blood, "which thing the Lord would not pardon [1]."

The large acquaintance which our author enjoyed with Holy Writ, is still more conspicuous in his Tract "On the Calling of the Gentiles," in the course of which there occurs an exclamation so alien to a persecuting spirit, ("O infelicium Judæorum dementia deflenda!") as to remind us of the

[1] 2 Kings xxiv. 4.

apostolic disposition towards heretics expressed in Phil. iii. 18.

Lastly, we may without offence smile at the theological taste of those times, as seen in the following passage (on Levit. xi. 3): "Whatsoever parteth the hoof, and is cloven-footed, and cheweth the cud, among the beasts, that shall ye eat." Thus the Jews *ruminate*, indeed, the words of the law, but *part not the hoof*, since they do not receive two testaments, nor take for bases of faith the Father and the Son; therefore they are unclean."

On the whole, Bishop Isidore is an estimable character. One other light shines out from the bigotry of the period. St. Mausona, archbishop of Merida, is described as using so much benevolence and amenity of manners to Christians, Jews, and Pagans, that no language can sufficiently endear his memory [1].

These, then, are the only persons in authority to whom we can revert with satisfaction during the long dominion of the Goths in Spain.

[1] Paul the Deacon :—quoted in Historia de Merida, p. 149.

CHAPTER VIII.

SIXTH COUNCIL OF TOLEDO—ON CATHOLICITY IN SPAIN—JEWISH ADDRESS TO KING RECCESUINTH—TWELFTH COUNCIL OF TOLEDO—CHRONOLOGY OF LXX.—ROMISH INFLUENCE IN SPAIN.

In the third and last year of the next reign, that of Chintila (A.D. 638), was summoned the sixth council of Toledo. The interval since the fourth council was five years, but Isidore of Seville was no more, and the effect of his removal to a better world, may be seen in this enactment:—

"Canon 3.

"The inflexible perfidy of the Jews comes at length to be subdued by piety and the divine grace. For by inspiration of the Most High God, our most excellent and Christian prince, inflamed with ardour for the faith, together with the clergy of his kingdom, has resolved to eradicate to the uttermost, their prevarication and superstition,

not suffering the residence of any one in the land, who is not a Catholic. For which zeal we render thanks to the almighty King of Heaven that He has created a soul so illustrious, and endued it with his wisdom. May He bestow upon him a long life in this world, and glory everlasting in the future.

"We do now, therefore, decree a corroboration of what has been heretofore instituted in general Synod concerning the Jews, seeing that all things necessary for their salvation that could have been enacted, we know to have been done, and with circumspection. All such edicts we now declare to be valid."

[And in a codicil to this Canon.]

"We do deliberately resolve, that whosoever in time to come shall obtain the royalty, he shall not ascend the throne before having promised on oath, never to allow the Jews to infringe upon this holy faith; and that in no wise favouring their perfidiousness, neither seduced by negligence or cupidity, &c.

The more evangelical and prudent views of Isidore ought to have been fresh in the recollection of these Toledan councillors. Under his guidance they had blamed Sisebut's barbarian christening of 90,000 Jews, but immediately on

his decease, the ecclesiastics decree an act of equal oppression by "*not suffering the residence of any one in the land who is not a Catholic,*" and proceed to bind their kings, present and future, to this determination. The new sovereign acquiesced, and thus "gave proof that he was not chosen and appointed by man, but from God [1]." Modern Romish writers are enraptured with this noble resolve:—"It is a most ancient and peculiar glory of the Gothic kings in Spain, that not only in the time of this council under Chintila, but even from the reign of Recared, in the third council of Toledo, they endured none to remain in their dominions alien to the Catholic religion. Thus have the Spanish monarchs ever preserved, and do still labour to sustain, their title of *Most Catholic* superlatively, above all other kings and princes in Christendon [2]."

We have here the express point avowed, towards which the Church in Spain had been advancing in each successive council with firm and well considered steps. To pause awhile for cool consideration, endeavouring to understand the sentiments of a devoted churchman in that age and country, —is it not possible that some such may have

[1] Gothorum, &c. Historia, Joh. Magnus, lib. xvi. c. 18.

[2] Collectio Maxima, &c. Aguirre.

sanctioned this ultimate measure from purely religious, though still mistaken motives? Imagine such a one musing in his cell, with the Bible open before him, and Augustine, "On the City of God," in his hand. How bright and peaceful a vision he might frame to his imagination of an identified world and church; a reality predicted in glowing language by the early prophets, as the temple of the latter days, the growing stone cut out without hands, the kingdom of heaven, the kingdom of God! Issuing from a little source it has already poured its tide over many nations, —"it flows, and cannot cease to flow." This land of Spain has received the boon, a land framed by nature to be "at unity with itself," and must not this cause extend till every heart that beats within our confines shall confess its sway, till every homestead, field, and hill shall be cheered with its peace and promise, till the hallelujahs sung upon the heights of Asturias, be caught up and reverberated from peak to peak, even to the extremity of the Sierra Nevada?—Adveniat regnum tuum!

It is difficult for us to appreciate the feelings of twelve hundred years gone by, abstracted from the fever and agitations of our modern worldly Christianity; but in the effort to do so, it must not be forgotten, that the idea of unity or catholicity was in those times tenaciously cherished by all

who professed the name and service of Christ. "The holy Catholic Church" was an endearing bond of sentiment to all within its pale; and most justly so[1]: but human passions, mingled with Christianity, have so blinded men's judgment, as to confound internal unity with external uniformity.

The meditation we have supposed would be that of the monk in his cloister. Bolder spirits were found to contrive and execute. Availing themselves of the common error of an unconditional baptismal regeneration[2], the efficacy of the *opus operatum*, they either believed, or, at least, caused others to believe, that the honour of God was concerned in "compelling to come in," those most averse from doing so, and binding them to obedience with their children and children's children for ever, under the doubled penalty awarded to apostasy.

[1] It is, perhaps, impossible for language to be more emphatic than in the ἵνα ὦσιν ἓν of John xvii. 11. But when the Romanist argues from this a uniformity at the expense of free-will and personal investigation; or the Spaniard insists upon a national conformity, with the alternative of cleansing the territory from all dissentients, they each transgress the full spirit of the Gospel, by assuming single points supposed to harmonize with their own preconceptions.

[2] The conditions of apostolical baptism being, faith and repentance in the adult; and in infancy, to be the offspring of believing parents.

There is a well known parable[1] of Abraham driving the idolatrous traveller out of his tent into the wilderness at night, merely from religious zeal: when the Lord called to Abraham and said, "O Friend, I have supported him through a life of a hundred years, and thou hast conceived an abhorrence of him at once. If a man pay adoration to fire, shouldest thou withhold the hand of liberality?" Omitting the prospect of compulsory conversion, which they in express terms renounced, this parable exactly applies to those who would have none to sojourn in the land but Catholics. To expel the Jews, would indeed secure their object, but at the expense of the principle, which ought to be of higher consideration. Souls would thus be more endangered; for the exiles would naturally seek refuge among Heathens or Mohammedans, since the Franks were not disposed to yield to Goths in religious zeal. It is to be feared that these pontifical oppressions of the Jews partook too largely of that spirit which induced the first disciples to request Heaven's fire upon the Samaritan village, for not receiving their Lord: there was a prior

[1] In the Bostân of Saadi, the Persian poet, cited in Taylor's "Liberty of Prophesying," rendered into Hebraic idiom by Dr. Franklin, and quoted by Geo. Gentius in the Preface to his translation of the "Sceptre of Judah."

animosity craving to be gratified, as well as their Master's cause to be vindicated; and in Spain the pseudo-theology on this point, held the secular power in the readiest obedience to accomplish its dictates. Yet, all the severities it could inflict were unable to eradicate Judaism from their reluctant converts: and ignorant indeed of human nature must those have been, who could expect success from the use of such means. If the ancient miracles failed, and if the Jews shut their eyes and ears from Moses and the prophets, how could involuntary baptism and other acts of tyranny convince the will and understanding, that Jesus of Nazareth is the Christ, and that all that is done in His name is done by His sanction.

In A.D. 653, the Jewish population was alarmed by a threat of inquiry into their Christian fidelity: to avert which they took the first step, and presented a general address to the king (Reccesuinth), who was known for a vigilant "defender of the faith." The document is thus preserved by Cardinal Aguirre: if the copy be genuine, the address never could have been their spontaneous production, but written under constraint.

"To the most clement and serene,
Our lord the king Reccesuinth—
We Hebrews of Toledo and all Spain,
As under subscribed and sealed.

"Well, indeed, and justly, do we remember to have been compelled to draw up an agreement in the name of the memory of king Chintila, for the observance of the Catholic faith: and this we did. But forasmuch as the perfidy of our obstinacy, and the inveteracy of our ancestral error, have impeded our true belief in the Lord Jesus Christ, and sincere adhesion to the Catholic faith,—we do now freely and cheerfully vow to your glory, for ourselves, our wives, and our children, by this our declaration, that henceforward we will retain no marriage usages or observances against the rules of the Church.

"We will not associate with the ever-to-be execrated company of unbaptized Jews.

"We will not contract marriages within the sixth degree [of affinity] as we have done.

"We will not contract marriages with our own nation, either ourselves, our sons, or posterity; but in each sex will intermarry hereafter with Christians.

"We will not practise circumcision, or celebrate Passover, Sabbath, or other festal days, according to Jewish rites.

"We will make no discrimination of food, nor in any way observe the abominable usages, customs, or conversation of Jews.

"But with sincere faith, grateful mind, and

full devotion, will believe in, confess, and adore, Christ the Son of the living God, according to the evangelical and apostolical doctrine.

" We will truly keep, and sincerely embrace, all the usages of the holy Christian religion, regarding holydays, marriage, and diet, and every other observance, with no reservation, objection, or false argument on our part, by means of which we might hereafter practise what we hereby renounce, or fail to fulfil what we hereby promise.

" Concerning swine's flesh, we thus engage ourselves, that, although on account of long habit we are not able to endure it, yet we will eat without horror or disgust, of such meats as are dressed along with it.

" And if, in any of these matters aforesaid, we be found transgressors in the least degree; or shall presume to act contrary to the Christian faith; or shall delay to accomplish in word or deed, such things as are agreeable to the Catholic religion,—we swear by the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, one in Trinity, and the true God, that every single transgressor among us, may be punished with fire and stoning: or if the clemency of your glory should spare his life, both himself and all that pertains to him, may be bestowed in slavery to whomsoever you may please; or whatever else you may command to be done with him

or his goods, shall be performed; not only by virtue of your sovereign power, but also by the ratification of this our solemn agreement.

Done at Toledo, 21st of March, in the sixth year of your glory. In the name of God."

Who can believe in the honesty of this declaration? If not extorted by immediate fear, it was composed with designing duplicity, and attested by the most awful of oaths; and if the subscribers had by any possibility a voluntary intention of binding themselves to its performance, they deserve contempt for thus bargaining about swine's flesh, while they surrendered "the weightier matters of their law." The king, however, laid the matter before the eighth council of Toledo, "and great was the joy of the bishops to find so much zeal in the king; they consulted as to what should be done, and with one consent they decreed twelve canons, in which they gave sufficient satisfaction to the king's desire[1]."

Thirty years more elapsed, and Ervigio was king of Spain in 681; who on his accession found the Jews openly professing their religion, and holding public offices; buying slaves, even from the clergy; and, it is said, making converts

[1] Collectio Maxima, &c. Aguirre.

to their creed, an evident proof that the commercial benefits had hold enough upon the people to countervail all the canonical prohibitions and royal authority; the rigour had become doubly relaxed by force of overstraining, and the struggle had to be renewed. Nay, it is asserted by Julian of Toledo and Paul of Burgos, that in this reign the Jews offered to convince the king by argument that Messiah was not come!

The twelfth council of Toledo aroused the slumbering cause by the following summary enactments, expressed in a most wretched jargon of Latin.

"CANON 9.

"We have read over with watchful scrutiny those laws lately issued by our most glorious prince, in separate divisions, upon the execrable perfidiousness of the Jews. We have also approved with discreet gravity all those regulations; and since they were given with just reason, and approved by synodal examination, there shall be maintained henceforward in an irrevocable course of judicial proceeding against the transgressions of them,

"The laws in repetition of former laws against

Jewish transgression, and the recent ratification of the same:—

"Item,—That Jews shall not withhold themselves, their children, or slaves, from baptism.

"Item,—That Jews shall neither celebrate Passover, as they are accustomed to do, nor practise circumcision, nor dissuade any one from the faith in Christ.

"Item,—That Jews presume not to celebrate the Sabbath, or the other festivals of their ritual.

"Item,—That all Jews shall cease from labour on the Lord's day, and on other specified days.

"Item,—That Jews no longer make any selection in diet.

"Item,—That Jews no longer intermarry with near relations.

"Item,—That Jews no longer presume to defend their sect to the disparagement of our religion. Also, that they flee no where to avoid the faith, and that none may receive such persons thus escaping.

"Item,—That no Christian accept any gift whatever to the prejudice of the faith in Christ.

"Item,—That Jews shall read no books which the Christian faith abhors.

"Item,—That no Christian slave shall belong or attach to Jews.

" Item,—If a Jew declare himself a Christian, and on this account refuses to surrender a slave.

" Item,—The *profession* of every Jew coming to the faith, is to be delivered in writing.

" Item,—The conditions to which Jews are to swear when forsaking Judaism for the [true] faith, they give in their *professions*.

" Item,—Concerning the Christian slaves of Jews, not announced as Christians, and concerning such as shall denounce them.

" Item,—That no Jew shall dare, by virtue of any authority beneath the royal ordinance, to govern, strike, or distrain a Christian.

" Item,—That the slaves of Jews, as yet unconverted, shall, on accepting the grace of Christ, receive their freedom [1].

" Item,—That Jews shall not dare to overrule a Christian family, by authority derived from landowners [the feudal lords] or others. Also, concerning the penalties to be laid upon those who shall employ them on such commissions.

" Item,—That a Jew arriving from other provinces or territories belonging to our dominion [2], shall not delay to present himself before the bishop or priest of the place. Also, concerning what is proper for him to observe in every respect.

[1] For the contrary, see 1 Cor. vii. 20, 21.

[2] Aquitaine in France, and a territory on the coast of Africa.

"Item,—In what manner musters of the Jews are to be made on stated days by the bishops.

"Item,—That whosoever shall have a Jew attached to his service, shall surrender him at the demand of any priest.

"Item,—That the whole office of distinguishing the Jews, belongs to the priests alone.

"Item,—On the penalties to which priests and magistrates are liable for delaying to execute the laws against Jews.

"Item,—That magistrates shall not presume to decide any matters of Jewish transgression without the sanction of the priests.

"Item,—That bishops are exempt from penalalties, when their presbyters have not forwarded for their adjudication what they have not themselves corrected.

"Item,—Respecting the prerogative of mercy reserved to princes in favour of such as are truly converted to Christ's faith.

"Item,—That every bishop shall furnish the Jews in his diocese with a book written against their errors, and shall lay up their *professions* or *conditions* in the archives of his church.

"The grave promulgation of all which laws, as approved by synodal decision, so by general consent of us all, shall be hereafter enforced against the transgression of them."

These decrees were elaborately oppressive, and probably on that very account defeated their own object. From one of the regulations it appears that there was already an *index prohibitorius* in existence; and the closing one accounts for a theological work of that time by Julian, the metropolitan archbishop, at the express desire of the king, to demonstrate the vanity of still expecting the Messiah who was to have come. In this he shows, by an extensive scrutiny of the prophecies, that the Redeemer must be already born [1], and then, by the chronology of the Septuagint, he fixes the date of that advent within the sixth millenarium, viz. A.M. 5325.

This chronology differs widely from that which is deduced from the Hebrew text, and therefore it was also necessary for the author to contend for the divine inspiration of the LXX. translation; if it may be termed contending, when the Jews were forbidden to defend "their own sect." The Church upheld this point because it was piously believed that the Jews had corrupted the Hebrew text on purpose to defeat the evidence deducible from chronology; and it has been often urged, that because the LXX. version was completed a considerable time before the advent of

[1] Bibl. Rabb. of Bartoloccio, iii. 709.

Christ, it must be at least an impartial witness on this point[1], and that its veracity as a sacred text was authenticated by the sanction afforded it when the apostles and evangelists used it for quotation. All this would be disregarded by a Jew[2], but in our age he would be met in a different manner[3].

If it be true, which Mariana affirms, that Julian was of Jewish parentage, it follows that he designedly preferred the Greek to the Hebrew Scripture, as supposing it the more favourable to his scheme of argument. It may be worth remark, that he states the Latin version commonly read by the church in Spain to be a translation from the LXX. If so, the Vulgate was not yet adopted there. But we have seen St. Isidore marking the variations of the LXX. from his Latin text in Genesis.

Julian produced, a few years afterwards, a tract on the procession of persons in the Godhead, and on the nature of Christ, in reply to Pope

[1] Appendix F.

[2] "When Ptolemy Philadelphus caused the translation of the Pentateuch, known as that of the Greek Septuagint, to be undertaken, it called for this remark in the Talmud (Megillah)—'It was a day as fatal to Israel as that on which the golden calf was made.'"—Hebrew Review, London, 1834.

[3] "Old Paths," by Dr. M'Caul. London, 1837.

Benedict II. lately deceased, which was approved by his successor, Pope Sergius. Also, in this reign, the right of nomination to bishoprics was surrendered by the king to the see of Toledo. From these three facts, the diversity of Latin Scripture, the doctrines in the tract, and the episcopal nomination, added to that of the Spanish church using their peculiar Liturgy, (afterwards called the Mozarabic,) it is evident that Rome had, as yet, but a slight control within the Pyrenees.

CHAPTER IX.

SIXTEENTH COUNCIL OF TOLEDO — JEWISH CORRESPONDENCE WITH AFRICA—TOTAL REDUCTION OF THE JEWS TO SLAVERY.

In 687 the crown was inherited by Flavius Egica, and in 693 he summoned the sixteenth Council of Toledo. His letter royal, for its convening, contains the following *Projet de loi.*

"Thus, too, according to our late proclamation, none of those Jews abiding in their obstinacy shall approach the tribunal of justice (catablum), on any business whatever, nor shall dare to transact any business whatever, with Christians. So that ye may truly say with the prophet, 'Do I not hate them, O Lord, that hate thee? and am I not grieved with them that rise up against thee?' (Ps. cxxxix.)

"Notwithstanding, if any from among the said Hebrews, their wives, or children, shall hereafter embrace, with entire devotion, the Catholic rule of faith, renouncing all the errors of base prevari-

cation, and the ceremonies of their ancestral religion, let him be freed from all yoke of subjection, to which he was consigned while in his state of error, and was accustomed to render to the public service."

In conformity with this, the loyal council enacted:—

Canon 1.

"Although numerous writings of the ancient Fathers, and promulgated laws, are extant, for the condemnation of Jewish perfidy[1]; yet because, as the prophetic record declares, 'The sin of Judah is written with a pen of iron, and with the point of a diamond,' (Jer. xvii.) they still remain upon a rock of yet harder substance in the blindness of their obstinacy; it is too clear that the wall of the Catholic Church is frequently assailed by the engines of their infidelity. And, therefore, they must, at length, be either corrected *unwillingly*, or be awfully crushed, when perishing under the judgment of God for ever!

"It is the praiseworthy custom of skilful physicians to press the more earnestly their art of healing on such as labour under various maladies,

[1] This term in the canons, denotes sometimes a violation of their vows; at others, a false belief, "Reprobate silver, shall men call them." (Jer. vi. 30.)

until they accept the healthful remedy. Since, then, the fervent desire, and prompt devotion, of our glorious and Christ-loving King Egica are eager to provide for them the virtue of this admirable medicine, that so they may either be converted to the faith; or, if persisting in their faithlessness, be goaded the more sharply; By his exhortation and command, our council has unanimously resolved:

"That, whatever provisions the decrees or laws of our predecessors in the Catholic faith are known to contain, for the demolition of their perfidy, these shall be the more sedulously enforced by all priests, and by all in justiciary office; and that what we now ordain be observed with equally zealous resolution.

"Thus, namely:—that whosoever of them shall with full purpose of heart be converted, and shall keep the Catholic faith, without any disguise of infidelity, they may remain secure with all the goods they possess, and exempt from all the tribute which they have been used to pay to the most sacred treasury; but, that such as continue in their infidelity, shall pay to the public benefit the utmost of their usual exaction.

"Those who are reformed from their error shall only pay to the revenues as other freemen (Ingenui) do; and having full license in transact-

ing business, whatever for the public levies shall be prescribed by the king, that shall they discharge equally with the native Christians (ut veri Christicolæ); for the rule of faith requires that all those adorned with the truth of Christ, should be regarded as noble and honourable among men.

"But we entirely confirm that law, which, as above stated, is promulgated by our lord the king Egica for the suppression of contumacy, and by decree of this our constitution, we do adjudge it to possess immovable stability."

The liberality of this indulgence has been extolled by its authors and by posterior writers. To understand its merit, it is necessary to observe, that in earlier times, when the Catholic rulers drew a distinction between converted and unconverted Jews in every civil capacity, there were still certain considerations, in which the former were held inferior to the free-born Gothic *Ingenui*. They appear to have been taxed at a higher rate, and probably the same legal difference existed as in later ages. "They were for ever accounted but as proselytes, so as to be restricted from not a few civil dignities and offices: and this on the ground of their original state or condition, as may be seen more at large in Ludovico Peguera, Juan Escobaro, and other Spanish lawyers[1]."

[1] Selden, de Jure, &c. lib. ii. c. 4.

It becomes natural to inquire, what was the king's motive in this proceeding?—what cause had he to be increasingly gracious to his Hebrew Christian subjects at this time, yet severe as ever to the unconverted? It could not have been the hope of gain, although he is stigmatized as an insatiable exacter from all classes of his people, and accused of forging wills and other documents for the same purpose[1], for he would have lost money by thus enticing Jews within the Christian fold. Nor can we believe this "worst of tyrants" to have been impelled by anxiety for their spiritual welfare. No; the motive was fear. A coming revolution had cast its shadow before, which, should it be successful, would content the oppressed Jews with ample deliverance and vengeance.

Egica and his ministering Cortes-Council now affected to claim a large return of gratitude, and a rapid augmentation of the Church from the ranks of the circumcised Spaniards. But it seems that their generosity had come too late. Oppressive iniquities were now about to produce their fruit. By repeated emigrations, Jewish settlements had been formed on the African coast, a mercantile correspondence had kept alive the national sympathy, and intelligence was thus com-

[1] Gothorum, &c. Historia.—Joh. Magnus.

municated with rapidity and security. The Arabs, half brothers of Israel, were on the march, and year after year witnessed their irresistible advance to the West. Arabs had even visited Spain to place Ervigio on the throne some years before. Arab and Gothic fleets had encountered at sea. The Jews were numerous and suffering, with the sea-ports considerably under their influence, and which the government ought to suppose they would cheerfully deliver up to the first Mohammedan invader.

It was in the very next year that the monarch hastily convened the seventeenth Council of Toledo. The letter of convocation, which is prolix and bombastic, commences by describing the Catholicity of Spain, and the vileness of the Jews; the more vile since he has recently learned from an open avowal, that "these Hebrews have plotted with others beyond the sea," to effect the ruin of Christendom; a conduct the more unpardonable because of his exceeding leniency of late in the attempt to bring them "to the bosom of our mother the Church as adopted children." At length he proposes to employ the utmost rigour; the choice between complete Christianization, or to be cut off by the *scythe of justice* [1], exempting however,

[1] Collectio Maxima, &c. Aguirre.

for the present, those Jews residing in the ultra-Pyrenean province.

The eighth canon was that produced to meet the emergency. Passing over its lengthy and inflated introduction, these were its stringent enactments. "By command of our most pious and religious king Egica (who burning with zeal for the Lord, and impelled by ardour of holy faith, not merely desires to avenge the insult offered to Christ's cross, but also to obviate, with severity, the destruction which they savagely engaged to bring upon his people and country):—that being deprived of all they possess, and these possessions, both of the perjurers themselves and their posterity, being confiscated to the national treasury; they be dispersed from their homes throughout the provinces of Spain, and be subjected to perpetual slavery under those to whom he may assign them, and remain so for ever. Neither by any connivance, while they abide in the obstinacy of their unbelief, shall any opportunity be afforded of recovering the condition of freedom, for those who by numberless transgressions are branded.

"Likewise, we ordain that certain Christian slaves of such Jews, shall be chosen according to the king's selection, who shall either receive out of their masters' property so much as the oftenmentioned lord the king shall, in the course of his

authority, bestow; or else, written charters of freedom. And whatever duties to the public service those Jews have hitherto performed, their slaves aforesaid, whom the same our prince shall select, are to perform them in full amount without any diminution.

"Finally, those to whom these Jews are consigned by the said lord the king, shall write an obligation on their honour (tale placitum in nomine suæ gloriæ conscribant) not to suffer them to worship or to celebrate the rites, or in anywise to follow the paths of their ancestors' perfidy.

"We also decree that their children of either sex, from the seventh year and upwards, shall have no residence or association with their parents, but that their owners shall deliver them to be reared by the most faithful of Christians: having this object in view, that the males are to be joined in marriage with Christian women, and the females likewise to be married to Christian men. And as we have already said, no permission shall be given either to parents or offspring, for the observance of ceremonies according to Jewish superstition, nor any opportunity of walking again in the paths of their unbelief."

Thus were the Jews condemned to universal spoliation and perpetual helotry. The crisis was probably such as required vigilance, or even severity,

and the Cortes met it with firmness, for they wielded unflinchingly "the scythe of justice." But how would the christening of the new slaves preserve the kingdom? That accursed decree for the disposal of children, was expected to yield advantage in the next generation. It was not new, for it had a precedent in the fourth Toledan Council. (Canon 60.) But, in the short space of sixteen years from this date, the battle of Xeres was fought, Roderic, the last king of the Goths, had his head fixed over the gates of Damascus[1], and the Jews welcomed the sons of Ishmael into the royal city of Toledo.

Yet, during this interval, had these slaves, though sons of Abraham, no mental refuge?—had the daughters of Jerusalem no cheering hope?—the infants bereaved of parents, had they no prospect but to be for ever trodden down of the Gentiles? At the first crush of the oppression, they could have had no well-defined vision of emancipation before them, and were fain to submit in silence, yet clinging in the dark to an expectation of some unknown revolution in the progress of time[2]; and their separation precluded, as had been designed, all chance of mutual combination.

[1] Conde, Historia de los Arabes en España, i. c. 10.

[2] Quod unum urgentium malorum suffugium in tempus erat. Tacit. Ann. iv. 66.

Tears from the granite, and pity from the Gothic Christians! Yet the Jews laid it not to heart. "Is Israel a servant? Is he a home-born slave? why is he spoiled? ..... Hast thou not procured this unto thyself, in that thou hast forsaken the Lord thy God when he led thee by the way[1]?"

[1] Jerem. ii. 14. 17.

CHAPTER X.

WITISA—RETROSPECT OF GOTHIC DOMINION OVER THE JEWS—ICONOLATRY—ON PERSECUTION OF JEWS.

In La Mancha the river Guadiana is absorbed into a morass of nearly thirty miles' extent, upon which there is pasture for numerous flocks[1]; emerging thence in freedom, it flows at considerable length, communicating with large cities, and finally forms a boundary between two nations. So the Jews were now a people in abeyance; yet their unseen industry was not unprofitable, and, like that beauteous river, they afterwards resumed their wonted office of mercantile correspondence, and became "a third in the land," between two rival nations.

The next monarch, Witisa, has been compared to Caligula, or Domitian[2]. His reign was opened

[1] Year in Spain, ii. 73.

[2] Gothorum Suenonumque Historia. Joh. Magnus.

with signal virtue and clemency; like Nero's, with "Vellem nescire literas!" for the king collected those forged documents by means of which his father had obtained large sums of money, together with the records of offences against the crown, all of which he publicly burned; yet he speedily fell into vicious practices, at least in the opinion of his monkish chroniclers, who charge him with gross libertinism, and even polygamy; but their ideas on such subjects are often exaggerated. He certainly incurred their displeasure, by giving some relaxation to the Jewish bondage; and in a few years more, when the Arabs arrived, they found Granada a *Jewish town*,—an impossible circumstance, if the late canons of Toledo had been perseveringly enforced.

The Gothic royalty had a duration of 250 years in Spain. Romances, poems, and superficial histories, ascribed its downfall to the personal transactions of La Cava, and her father, count Julian, —gravely admiring,

"What dire effects from trifling causes spring!"

They overlook, or are altogether uninformed of some hundred thousand of recent slaves, with keen wits and warm feelings, holding correspondence with flushed and greedy conquerors across

the narrow sea. King Roderic's celebrated outrage was but the last drop to the brimming cup, which then run over. What aid the Jews afforded in the invasion from Africa, is not easily ascertained; the wonder is, that their services were not so manifest, as to leave no doubt of their co-operation at every step. Some affirm, what others deny, that the Jews made a preliminary bargain with the Mohammedans; and others, that they opened the gates of Toledo itself to the army of Taric. Much, however, of important information the latter might have procured from them, such as the state of the contending parties in Spain, the position, relative value, and means of access to the several cities. On the lowest supposition, the Jews could not have wished well to the cause of Gothic dominion in its time of trial, since it was clearly an usurpation of foreigners, and had been tyrannically exercised. Neither would this cause be recommended to them by its connexion with the catholic doctrine since king Recared, such as it had proved in relation to them; for it is of little moment to set off some occasional remissions of cruelty against the progressive course of hardships. They had no security in the benevolence of St. Isidore and St. Mausona, or in the policy of king Witisa: and

where the possibility of oppression is impending, what is this but a state of slavery too?

The Goths had aimed openly at the eradication of all that a Jew holds dearest,—his Hebraism, his religion, and the perpetuation of these in his children. Ingenuity was racked to devise restraints, penalties, and modes of violence short of massacre, for this object; the result has been left for our instruction. "Many edicts," says Aguirre, "were made by the Gothic kings, against the Jews, but *in vain*, for the worst weeds always strike the deepest roots."

It is truly frightful to retrace the climax of these enactments in their unrelenting consistency. Public offices and emoluments proscribed; Jewish evidence inadmissible (xvith council); Hebrew festivals and circumcision prohibited (xiith council); Hebrew books destroyed (ibid); slaves enticed from their owners, by emancipation at baptism (ivth council); wives to be divorced on the same account (ibid); infants stolen away, to be reared by zealous Christians (ibid); themselves to be enrolled and mustered on certain days by the bishop; besides, when in travelling, to report themselves at every town for inspection. All this, on account of religion as Jews, from the Goths as catholics. The early Eliberitan canons were mild

in comparison; and from Gothic Arianism they had received no serious molestation.

During the operation of such laws, with all their attendant minor degradations, what could have preserved to the Israelite his self-respect from utter extinction? Nothing but his trust in a revealed religion. From this he drew promises of assurance, that "it is the time of Jacob's trouble, but he shall be saved out of it[1]." And unwarranted as may have been some hopes which he built upon that rock, there is a sublimity in the very stubbornness of those days, strongly contrasted with the vile infidelity of Deism, into which so many Jews, amid the liberality of our times, have plunged themselves. Slaves and exiles, pining for their Eastern home, they lamented its desolation with the incomparable pathos of the Scripture, for that the "Lord had not remembered his footstool in the day of his anger[2]." With the acknowledgment of guilty deserving, accompanied by recollection of that loving-kindness which had pardoned the nation before, they learned to endure and hope. A cloud upon the mind obstructed, indeed, the perception of the original and continued causes of this calamity;

[1] Jer. xxx. 7.

[2] Lam. ii. 1.

but when, on the part of the Church, "the sword turned preacher, and dictated propositions by empire, instead of by arguments, and engraved them in the heart with a poniard[1]," then the Jew bowed his head and suffered.

As for conversion, the truth is, that these bishops were but ill qualified for their work. They never did comprehend the Hebrew people, nor consequently the obstacles to their success. Religion, as we understand the term, was not the whole to be encountered, even though in this matter they had adopted the proper course: there was the national sentiment, which, though distinct from piety with us, yet in their ideas formed an integral part of devotion[2]; the initiation to which was circumcision, a positive command to their common father Abraham, independent of the Mosaic law; yet the Church based nearly the whole of her operations on the abolition of this, to substitute baptism in its place; trusting to the disruption of inveterate associations, and the formation of new habits for all the rest which they held necessary for salvation.

Combined with nationality, there was the lan-

[1] Taylor's Liberty of Prophesying.

[2] τὸ δωδεκάφυλον.—Acts xxvi. 7.
πεπολίτευμαι τῷ Θεῷ.—Acts xxiii. 1.

guage almost adored, as the gift (even its alphabet) of the Lord God upon Sinai, if not of the Elohim in Eden: and this had for them an influence incomprehensible to the rude Latinists of the Church, whose most authentic text of the Bible was the Greek Septuagint translation. They were a people whose very diet, and the form of whose garments, conveyed lessons in theology[1]. And let us conceive, as well as we can, what might have been the feelings, if not the utterance, of a Jew, when a barbarian in iron armour, accompanied by his priest, with a countenance rigid as a marble mask, proffered him the choice between his own companionship and the most abject servitude, depending upon the acceptance or refusal of his creed? Yet, such was the catholic mode of evangelizing the Jews: and, strange to say, there is not one link in the chain of these ecclesiastical oppressions which has not been repeated, on a larger scale, and even surpassed, by the Spanish Church in ages much more recent.

But the most effectual impediment remains behind. This was the sin of iconolatry, if we may not style it idolatry, as it would undoubtedly appear to the Jew. During the earlier times, Spain had honourably kept herself from idols.

[1] Levit. xi. 45. &c. Numb. xv. 37. &c.

While the Greek and Latin sections of Christendom were fighting bloody wars in Europe, Asia, and Africa, for and against the use of images in public worship, the council of Elvira had resolutely forbidden, in the thirty-sixth and forty-first canons, the introduction of even pictures[1]: the liturgy of St. Isidore had guarded her from the infection of the Italian Breviary; and the frequent councils had kept her in closer discipline than any other national Church in Europe.

The xii. of Toledo (A.D. 681.) ordained, "that nobles [i.e. freemen] guilty of idolatry, were to be punished with perpetual excommunication and the straitest exile. Also, if they neglected to purge away this crime from their slaves, they were to lose the service of such slaves; and slaves, if guilty without their lords' cognizance, were to be scourged, and delivered to the discretion of their lords."

The xvi. of Toledo (A.D. 693.) enacted as follows, cap. 2: "The enemy, like a roaring lion, goeth about seeking whom he may devour." Idol-worshippers, venerators of particular stones, burners of torches, adorers of fountains and trees, augurs, or enchanters, &c. Exhorting bishops, curates,

[1] "Placuit, picturas in ecclesiâ esse non debere, ne quod colitur aut adoratur in parietibus depingatur." The Greek Church allows paintings, but anathematizes the statues.

and magistrates, to watch particularly, in order to seize for the Church's benefit whatever is offered in idolatry. And if they neglect to search out and punish, they are to be deprived of their office, and to abide in a state of penitence for a year; and then only to be reinstated at the king's pleasure: so that the king may, like Phinehas, zealously cleanse the people from the wrath of God. And whosoever shall impede the course of this law, let him be anathema before the indivisible Trinity. If a noble, he shall pay three pounds of gold to the sacred treasury; or if an inferior person, he shall be shamefully stripped, and receive one hundred lashes: half of his property being given to the sacred treasury."

Similar paganish customs to those here enumerated are likewise condemned in Elvira, and Toledo III., as burning tapers, women watching in burial-places, funeral cries, and beating the breasts. For Goths though they were, they knew that these were part and parcel of idolatry, and refused to act with the Roman Church in adopting the same practices, imperceptibly and adroitly, under Christian names. Yet, pictures and statues did creep into churches; the worship of the blessed Virgin Mary[1], if not sanctioned in form, was tolerated;

[1] "All generations shall call me blessed."—Luke i. 48.

and these, together with the deified wafer in the mass[1], were scandals sufficient to repel the Jews from all approach to the Nazarene faith. It was late in life to take a Jewish child at seven years old in training for Christianity: long before that age, he had learned to repeat the watchword of his people, "Hear O Israel, the Lord our God is One!" and to cherish the Rabbinical dogma attached to it, till the last faltering gasp in death: the contingency of martyrdom, no more or less than common death, to exempt him from the duty of reciting this verse[2] with the latest breath. And while recoiling from a perusal of the Christian Scripture, to which, under other circumstances, they might have yielded a dispassionate attention, the persecutions which ensued might indeed exasperate that people against the violence, but could never induce them to believe, that a doctrine attended with such effects, could be the truth of God.

In a political view, the treatment of these Hebrew Spaniards was most unwise. The Goths felt the value of their talents at home, and of their extended connexions in merchandize; yet they crippled their exertions to the verge of extinction, deprived them of legal protection, seized their

[1] "Body, and blood; soul and divinity." (Council of Trent.)

[2] Deut. vi. 4.

property, and, finally, reduced them to a state in which the acquisition of property was impossible. The Jews expected no more than an immunity from injury, but this was never granted.

Again, the clerical rulers of the land (and, it may be added, Christendom in general, through many ages) were not aware of the criminality, according to the Bible, of mal-treating the people Israel. It is wrong to do injury to any nation. It is wrong to persecute any religion. It was a heinous sin in the ancient nations to effect those calamities which God denounced against his people; for the penalty was not only inflicted by reprobate agents, but that very act was an accumulation of their guilt, and deeply avenged, as may be seen in Isa. x. 12, 13. xvii. 14. and xxix. 7, 8,. It was, and is, a crime to rejoice at the depression of Israel, as in Ezek. xxv.; Obadiah, 10—15; and Micah, iv. 11. And it is at all times a perilous error in any populace or ruling power to imagine, that they are either commissioned or at liberty to oppress the Jews during their penal exile. "Their adversaries said, We offend not, because they have sinned against the Lord, the habitation of Justice, even the hope of their fathers[1]." Whereas the written word declares,

[1] Jer. l. 7.

that "All that devour him shall offend, evil shall come upon them[1];" and, "All that devour thee shall be devoured[2]." "For it is the dearly beloved of my soul" that is given "into the hand of her enemies[3]."

Yet, on the other hand, lest a stubborn and unrighteous people should presume to boast, we are also assured, "I have wrought with you for my name's sake, not according to your wicked ways, nor according to your corrupt doings, O ye house of Israel, saith the Lord[4]." Nay, that the vineyard in its best estate, when rich with clustering fruit, has a timber more worthless than any other tree[5], and has no intrinsic merit; much less is there occasion of pride when the wrath of heaven is manifestly shown.

[1] Jer. ii. 3. [2] Jer. xxx. 16. [3] Jer. xii. 7.
[4] Ezek. xx. 44. [5] Ezek. xv. 1, &c.

CHAPTER XI.

MOHAMMEDAN INVASION—TOLERATION OF ALL RELIGIONS—SERENUS THE FALSE MESSIAH—GENERAL REMARKS.

In the year A.D. 710, of the era of Cæsar 748, of the Hegira 88, and of Jewish reckoning 4470, the Mohammedans under Taric entered Spain, near Gibraltar, overthrew the whole royal forces in one battle at Xeres, and speedily took the metropolis Toledo, as well as Seville, Cordova, and Granada. Muza, his superior in command, followed with another army from Africa, gained Merida, and, after a brave resistance, Zaragoza. Thence crossing the Pyrenees, he captured Narbonne, where he found immense booty; and, encouraged by success, proclaimed his future intention to subject the whole of Europe to the faith of his prophet.

Theodomir, a Gothic general in Murcia, having

held out for a time, surrendered at length upon honourable conditions. The rest of the Gothic chiefs retreated to the mountains of Asturias, where, in the vale of Cangas, they elected Pelayo, a cousin of the late king, to be their leader and monarch: appointing a cavern called Covadonga, in that valley, for their depôt of stores and arms. From this spot, the decisive stance of Spanish independence and Christianity, they advanced, as it were, inch by inch, for 774 years, till, after 3,700 battles, the entire territory of the Peninsula was reclaimed to Christendom [1].

The chronicler of the 13th century, himself a warrior, the archbishop Roderic Ximenes of Toledo, affirms that his city was thrown open to the invaders by the Jews, who, having given no assistance in the contest on the plain, as soon as they saw from the battlements the defeat of the Christians, hasted to open the gates, as their brethren had already done at Cordova and Granada. This account, though not probable in all its parts,—because, had this manœuvre been executed at one place, it would have been foreseen in the remaining cities,—is far more credible than the relation made by Don Lucas of Tuy, that

[1] Mendoza—Guerra de Granada.

"the Christians, after enduring a siege of some months, walked out in the usual procession on Palm-Sunday to the church of Sta. Leocadia in the suburbs of the royal city [1], to hear the word, in reverence to so great a solemnity: but the Jews giving a treacherous signal to the Saracens, threw open the gates, and the Toledans being without the walls, were thus devoured by the sword." Sandoval records [2]: "It is said that the Moors, through treachery of the Jews, gained possession of the first wall; [two others remained, but] the Christians of Toledo, seeing themselves thus far in the power of the enemy, betook themselves to surrender on the best terms they could obtain."

These three accounts have only one point of agreement; but whether the Jews had any share, or had not (as they themselves affirm), it seems that the citizens were utterly dispirited by the loss of their king and nobles, with the principal towns, when they thus gave up their metropolis, strongly fortified on a rock, and nearly surrounded by the Tagus. The conditions granted, were:—

[1] Nearly a league distant. (Basnage.)

[2] Notaciones sacadas de escrituras antiguas.

1. All who chose to depart, might do so, with their goods, in perfect safety.

2. Those who preferred to remain, were to have freedom of religion secured. The Christians received seven of their churches, but no new ones were to be erected. The rest were perverted into mosques.

3. The taxation was to continue the same as under the Gothic reigns.

4. The Christians and Jews were to have justice dispensed by their own magistrates, under their own laws.

Mariana informs us, respecting Cordova, that "the Moors at the conquest had granted full liberty to the Christian religion; and that, especially in that city, were to be seen publicly the priests, monks, and nuns, in their several habits. Within the walls were monasteries of Acisclus the martyr, St. Zoylus, and Sts. Faustus, Januarius, and Martial; besides churches of St. Cyprian, St. Gines, and Sta. Olalla; beyond the walls were eight monasteries." He adds, that the *bells were rung* for divine service, they lived by their own laws, and the counts were allowed their titles and dignities, only it was forbidden to blaspheme the prophet of Mecca, or to enter the mosques; "and this was a very endurable kind of subjection." Such a state of things he

describes as existing generally, almost a century and a half later[1].

The chronicle of archbishop Roderic states, that the Moorish general garrisoned the cities of Toledo, Cordova, Seville, Beia, &c. with Jews and Arabs *equally*, while his army proceeded to overrun the country.

Abdalusis, son of Muza, entered that part of Spain now called Portugal, with a third army, where he gained abundant spoils; and, as long as this source of wealth invited the strangers in one direction, and France in another, they cared little to disturb the insurgents of Asturias: who had, however, soon captured Oviedo, and extended their kingdom over the rugged districts of Biscay, Guipuzcoa, and Alava.

Towards the East, it is said that they penetrated as far as Toulouse and Lyons; but they never entered Toulouse, although the Jews in that city were for ages afterwards amerced in an annual fine of thirteen pounds of pure wax, and buffetted on the face at a church-door, three times a year, for having betrayed the place to the Mohammedans. Still, repeated inroads were made into France (which they denominated Afranc), until, in 733, they were met at Poictiers

[1] A.D. 850.

by Charles Martel, and by him were finally driven to the shelter of the Pyrenees.

The Peninsula was divided into—1. Andalucia; 2. Tolaitola; 3. Merida; 4. Saracosta; besides their small province in France. The governors of the whole conquest were styled emirs, and were subject, at first to the caliphs of Damascus, and afterwards to the caliphs of Egypt. Cordova was the capital.

During the confusion of these times, an ambitious Jew, named Serenus, set himself up for the Messiah, and urged his people to follow him to the Holy Land, there to establish a kingdom free from both Goths and Arabs: probably calculating that the latter, by extending their force to the extreme West, had proportionably weakened their dominion in Asia; and that the Roman empire, by which Israel had been dispersed, was long ago demolished. Numbers flocked to his standard, with all the giddiness of recent freedom; and abandoned their possessions in Spain, which were so considerable, as to merit the interference of the emir Ambiza for appropriating them as he thought fit. What became of the enterprize, is unknown [1].

Occasional tyranny in ruling, and frequent civil

[1] Marca. Histoire de Bearn, lib. ii. c. 2.

dissensions, reduced considerably the general population; and for a remedy, the emirs called over from Africa and Syria large numbers of agriculturists, whom they located in districts as nearly as possible resembling their native homes: those from Damascus in the lovely Vega of Granada; and those from Palestine in the lands of Medina Sidonia; and so of others[1].

The emirs appear to have proved good and evil governors, in nearly an alternate succession, until the period when the Omeiad caliphs of Damascus were cut off by the Abbassides; and Spain being also in an unsettled condition, a council of elders (sheikhs) assembled in A.D. 755 (Hegira 133), and proclaiming themselves independent of the Orientals, elected the young Abderrahman, sole survivor of the Omeiads, to be their own caliph of the West!

Amid these convulsions of forty-five years, it may be believed that the previous literature of Spain, such as it was, must have suffered loss: the monastic libraries were, of course, broken up, and in many ways injured; and the Arabic language was accepted with such surprising rapidity by the southern Christians, that, in 734, John, bishop of Seville, found it necessary to

[1] Mendoza—Guerra de Granada.

translate the Bible into their favourite tongue. But as the monks identify Latin with learning, they naturally lament this unchristian change, and enumerate but "few stars in the darkness of that night[1]," the brightest of these being Julian the deacon at Toledo, a Greek by birth.

In 736, the emir Ocba had founded schools for his own people, and encouraged those of the Jews and Christians.

To the latter population the Arabian conquest has ever been a theme of melancholy reflection. Mariana regards it as a visitation upon the iniquities of the Gothic kings, and people in general. St. F. Ximenes declares that the archangel Michael had previously denounced the calamity[2]. Sandoval[3] relates, that the intelligence of this invasion was first published in Rome by a dæmon, during his exorcism from a young girl, *daughter* of a holy bishop: on the application of the relics of St. Anastasius, the unclean spirit came out of her, but shouted for joy at the carnage he had just witnessed in Spain. And the chronicle[4] compiled long afterwards, by order of Alonso the wise, breaks away from its dry narrative at this

[1] Mariana.

[2] De angelis, v. 38.

[3] Notaciones sacadas, &c.

[4] Las 4 partes de la Cronica de España.

event, into a wild lament, representing the very earth as opening her mouth, and saying, "All ye who pass by the way, stay and see, if there be any sorrow like unto my sorrow. O that my head were waters, and my eyes fountains of tears, that I might weep and lament the death of my Spaniards; the misery and terror of my Goths."

It was a strange Providence which thus re-united the West with the East, after so long a cessation of familiar intercourse; and to the Jew the deliverance was inestimable. He was at once set on an equality with his ancient oppressor, having full license to pursue his own occupations, with the franchise of the Mediterranean insured to him by the Mohammedan conquests. Thus the interchange, through Jewish hands, of Egyptian and Syrian produce, for that of Spain and Mauritania, became rapidly more extensive than any previous age had witnessed.

But, above all, his religion was protected. The synagogues had their trumpets blown at the new year, mingling gratitude for present good, with hope of a prospective restoration, as they sang, "Our God, and the God of our fathers, O sound the great trumpet for our freedom, and lift up thine ensign to collect our captivity, so that we may altogether be speedily gathered from the four corners of the earth unto our own

land!" The oral law was no longer proscribed; the children were circumcised with rejoicing; the Sabbaths were sanctified; and each household could celebrate its annual banquet of liberty at the Passover. There was, moreover, that high enjoyment which is contained in the release from dissembling, and from the vicious tendency of self-depreciation [1].

In an evangelical view of the Israelites, the new order of things made no great advantage or loss to the cause of true conversion. There is, indeed, but one way of salvation, and that single path is found neither in the Talmud nor the Koran: granting also that the Jew would now learn to dissociate the accident of outward authority from the profession of the Gospel, and so its recommendation to his notice would be lowered; yet, when we reflect on one side how hateful in the sight of God the compulsory christenings of past times must have been; how rankling, and therefore unprofitable, was that merely nominal belief in Christ; how many errors had even then become incorporated with Christianity; and, on the other side, that Christians were still to be found in every city; that crucifixes and Latin gospels were

[1] "Nam contemptu famæ, contemni virtutes."—Tac. Ann. iv. 38.

still in their churches, as of old; and that, by the removal of prior animosities, the mind would have become more free to embrace or avoid what it perceived to be truth or error (so far as their national prejudices would suffer the investigation); it may admit of doubt, whether a less number of Jews than before were at this time, or likely to become, in a salvable condition, through the only Redeemer.

CHAPTER XII.

THE OMEIAD CALIPHATE, — EPISTLE OF BAR HHASDAI — R. MOSES IN SLAVERY — JEWISH INFLUENCE — COUNCIL OF LEON — SPANISH LITERATURE — MOZARABIC CHRISTIANS.

We now enter upon the bright period of the Spanish caliphate, when the cities were adorned with richer edifices, by the encouragement given to arts and sciences, and the landscapes embellished with towering palm-trees.

How strangely must have sounded there the Muezzin's tuneful call to prayer in the tongue of the Ishmaelite! "There is no God but God, and Mohammed is His prophet," that solemn admixture of purest truth with a lie. And what a marvellous vision is the whole Arabic episode of the peninsular history for the mind to muse upon, after it is passed away! Is it true that the very roads, bridges, mills, houses, and even the existing decoration of apartments, (as may be

seen in Valencia and other southern cities[1],) were once possessed by Orientals, speaking the noble language which for twenty-five centuries had been peculiar to a remote and burning desert, until the bounds were overpassed, and the inundation traversing the breadth of Africa had settled there? Were dervises, fakirs, harems, turbans, and camels, at any time familiar objects on a Latin territory? The Christians few and struggling on the hills? and the Israelite, in his silks and jewels, walking confidently abroad under the guardianship of the curved sabre from Damascus? Yet all this is certain: there are still inscriptions upon the walls, gilding upon palace chambers, and rolls of Eastern learning in the libraries, to tell that such events have been. Fountains and cedars yet remain, which have themselves yielded refreshing coolness to the Arab and the Hebrew.

The arrival of Abderrahhman was followed by a course of prosperity till then unknown, and political operations were conducted on a larger scale. Each province had now its emir, and the practice was now commenced, which for ages they maintained, that every caliph should, at least once in his reign, make an aggressive campaign (called

[1] Inglis's Spain in 1830. Vol. ii. p. 330.

Al-giheb) into Christendom, and this was usually carried into France: but, their attention being at this time drawn towards the North, they there gained so many battles in quick succession, that, had not their efforts become suddenly relaxed through the temptation of the Portuguese vicinity, the Christian cause in the Peninsula must have been annihilated. In 995, they burned the church of the national patron saint in Santiago, and, carrying off its bells, used them for lamps in the new and gorgeous mosque of Cordova. The Christians, as they recovered their ground and extended their acquisitions, parcelled out their land into petty chieftaincies, which harassed each other by mutual warfare. The natural result was, a depravity of manners, shown among other modes by putting out the eyes of their prisoners. The Arabs reproach them with personal filthiness.

During the reigns of the two first caliphs, the Christians of Cordova bore but impatiently their easy subjection. Complaining of new burdens of taxation, they proceeded to curse Mohammed, and all the other Arabs. Many lives were lost, and so unnecessarily, that a council of bishops, which the *caliph* summoned to consider the transactions, gave in their opinion, that the Christians were to be blamed, and that the deaths thus wilfully incurred, were rather suicides than martyr-

doms. A decision which affords great grief to Mariana, though he honestly confesses, that the usual tokens of sanctity were wanting to the corpses of the slain; such as the shedding of celestial fragrance, and the performance of miracles.

The scenery and population of Spain must at this time have been intensely Asiatic; and, as accessories to the general features, we read of a large flight of locusts, which, in 852, did incalculable mischief; and Arabian tribes wandering with tents and flocks, as in their own peninsula; for, notwithstanding the exuberant fertility of the South, two-thirds of Spain consists of rocks and sandy plains; the Castilles are still destitute of trees.

In the reign of Abderrahhman the second, (the third caliph,) his confidential minister, or Hagib, was the Jew Hhasdai bar Isaac, renowned among his people for the epistle which he wrote from that court to Joseph, king of Cozar, a nation bordering on the Caspian Sea[1]: describing the con-

[1] This kingdom consisted of a promiscuous colony of all nations and creeds, united for the advantage of commerce. For about a century and a half, beginning at A.D. 740, the monarchs were Jews, as were the majority of the population at a later period. The fact of such a people's existence has been treated as a mere fable, but it is "satisfactorily established by Des Guignes, and

dition of the Hebrews in Spain, and inquiring into that of his Jewish subjects. The author had long heard of the Cozarim, without finding any means of communication thither, until, from the Spanish embassy at Constantinople, he learned that some of this people were frequently seen there, in the bazaars, with furs for sale. Bar Hhasdai despatched an envoy to the East with this epistle, who, however, returned after six months' residence and inquiry in Constantinople, without meeting with any of the Cozarim, and reporting that the difficulties of proceeding to their kingdom were absolutely insurmountable. At length, it was transmitted by means of two ambassadors from some Asiatic people called *Gablim*, who had arrived at Cordova. The epistle commences with "I, Bar Hhasdai, ben Isaac, ben Ezra, one of the dispersed of Jerusalem, dwelling in Spain, &c. Be it known to the king, that the name of the land we inhabit is, in the holy language, *Sepharad*, but in that o the Ishmaelites, *Al-Andalus*; the name of the capital city is *Cortoba*." Rabbinical writers of later date, have furnished the answer of king Joseph from their own imagination; and in the twelfth century, R. Judah, the Levite, published

the recent Russian discoveries."—(History of the Jews.—Family Library.)

in Arabic, under the title of *Cozari*, a copious conversational discussion of all the points of Jewish theology, as contrasted with Gentile philosophy. The idea was derived from this original letter.

R. Bar Hhasdai was, on one occasion, required by the caliph to hold a conversation with the ambassadors who had arrived from the banks of Germany, previous to their reception at court; in the course of which, he gave the strangers some useful hints on the peculiar customs and religion of the country, and advice respecting their object in coming [1].

It was soon after this time, that, one sabbath-day, in the chief synagogue of Cordova, R. Nathan, the ruler, was so much astonished at the profound Talmudical knowledge evinced by a poor slave in sackcloth, who had entered for worship in company with his son, and had found some occasion of addressing the congregation, that he abdicated his chair, and requested to sit humbly at the feet of the slave for instruction. Upon inquiry, the stranger was found to be a celebrated teacher from Babylon, named Moses, who, with his son Enoch, had been taken on the sea by pirates, and brought into Spain for sale. The congregation

[1] Fleury, Histoire Eccl. tome xii. liv. 55. (Paris, 1722.)

were happy to redeem them, and to instal the elder of the two as their ruler.

In his old age R. Moses desired to return into Asia, but the caliph Al-Hhakem refused his permission; for he rejoiced that his Hebrew subjects had now no necessity for repairing to Babylon for instruction [1]. Great jealousy, however, existed on the part of R. Joseph Berabbi, who was engaged in translating the Talmud into Arabic for the caliph's library: for, upon the succession of R. Enoch to his father in the rule of the synagogue, his violent enmity procured his excommunication, and the epithet *Satanas*. Upon this, he retired towards Babylon; but the chief Jewish authority there forbade his approach. Berabbi, therefore, withdrew to Damascus, where he died excommunicate, and as such a stone was laid upon his coffin.

In the middle of the tenth century R. Joseph ben Isaac Israeli was an eminent physician; and two works still extant are attributed to him. Through him and Bar Hhasdai the Jews gained great influence in the courts of the caliphs.

In commerce they promoted the general welfare not only by Eastern traffic, but also as carried on with the rich province of Almagreb in Africa,

[1] "Branch of David."

extending from the Mediterranean southwards to the point opposite the Canary islands. In this territory, which belonged to Spain, were numerous Israelite residents. The products were furs, plumes, and ivory from the interior country, gold-dust from the rivers, coral and amber from the sea; the land abounded in corn, cattle, and horses; its soldiers were valiant, and husbandmen laborious; the capital was Fez.

In the Christian states, too, the Jews were highly prized, since they could best supply the sinews of war. Dr. Aldrete is so much shocked at the following assertion of Paul of Burgos [1], that, in his book on "Varias antiguedades," he does not venture to quote it in the vernacular Spanish (Romance), but preserves its original Latin: "They (the Jews) obtained great offices in the houses of kings and nobles; on which account all the subjects, though faithful (Christians), held them in reverence and fear, which was a cause of no small scandal and spiritual danger to the simple—for such might be easily seduced into the errors of their rulers. The unbelieving Jews took occasion from this to persist in their errors, and declare that the prediction of Jacob, which says that 'the sceptre shall not depart from Judah, &c.,' was

[1] De Scrutin. Script. part ii. d. 6. c. 10.

herein verified, that the Jews in Spain actually held its dominion and government in the manner aforesaid."

Perhaps Paul of Burgos exaggerated a little; for, although a converted Jew, he lived 400 years after the caliphate. But the following decree of the council of Leon, A.D. 1012, can be depended on, as showing indirectly the respect in which they were now held even in the Catholic North. The language is a miserable middle Latin, and abounds in Arabic terms and idiom.

"Whosoever hath a cottage in the field of another man, without possessing a horse or an ass, let him give once a year to the owner of the soil, ten wheaten loaves, and half a measure (cannatelam) of wine, and one good haunch (unum lumbum bonum), and then he may have any master whatever; the other may not sell his cottage, nor exact his labour by compulsion. But if he be willing on his own account to sell his cottage, his labour shall be valued by *two Christians and two Jews;* and if the proprietor of the land consent to give the price thus fixed, let him give it, with the alvoroch[1]; but if not, let the owner of

[1] Alvoroch, alboroque, or oque, a commission fee given to one who bargains in a sale of land; likewise a social drinking at the time of such a sale.—Pineda's Dictionary.

the *labour* sell his labour to whomsoever he will[1]."

This is merely cited to show the equality of the Christian and the Jew recognized by the episcopal council in matters of general business, or rather the superior consideration of the latter, from being mentioned at all by such authority. We may also remark the difference in tone from the old Toledan councils.

Jewish learning was now pursued with eagerness; the usual result of peace and a competence of wealth:

> "For wisdom is a pearl with most success
> Sought in still waters, and beneath clear skies[2]."

It has since been made a matter of boasting, that under the caliphate there was not one Jewish family in Spain without a copy of the law, and all could read it. They attained to particular eminence in the colleges of Cordova, Toledo, Seville, and Granada, at a time when the professors of Cordova obtained the appellation of "Sapientissimi," by the common vote of Europe[3].

[1] Does not this enactment serve, among innumerable other facts, to prove that, in the middle ages, it was not personal slavery, but the tenants', or serfs', duty of labour, which was attached to the land, and bought or sold?

[2] Cowper.

[3] "Biblioteca Española."

The "Branch of David" affirms of the tenth century, that "every day rode out of Cordova 700 men of Israel, in 700 chariots, all arrayed in royal apparel, and crowned with tiaras, after the custom of the Hagarene (Mohammedan) nobles." But this statement was made five centuries after the time alluded to, and must surely require some pruning before it can be accredited; but "there can be no doubt that the number of Jewish students was immense, and the state of learning as honourable to the benevolent and tolerant spirit of the protecting Mohammedans as to the industry, penetration, and acquirements of the protected Jews [1].

Among the Arabs, evening meetings were held in rose-gardens, beside the fountains; warriors became poets; youths harangued for prizes; and at Seville the female sex had a college where many a name acquired celebrity. There was Moyna, the female secretary of Abderrahhman; Ayesha, who excelled in calligraphy for her own and the caliph's libraries; Redhiya, the favourite of Al-Hhakem; and Waladata, the daughter of the last caliph, some of whose delightful verses are still preserved [2].

The caliphs themselves were frequently poets:

[1] "Retrospective Review," iii. 208.

[2] Carlyle's Translations from the Arabic.

Abderrahhman the first, on his settlement at Cordova, procured some palms from Asia, and addressed pathetic verses to the one planted in his palace-garden. The next caliph, Mohammed, wrote a tender poem on leaving his favourite wife for the wars. Hhakam was a poet, and despised astrology; and Abdallah composed an elegy on his mother's death. Besides these, Al-Hhakem kept agents travelling through Asia to collect books, and maintained several copyists employed in the great library at Bagdad. The catalogue of his Cordovese library, to which all the learned had access, filled forty-four volumes of fifty folios each.

Among the private writings of Abderrahhman the third, discovered after his death, was found this celebrated memorandum:—"I have now reigned above fifty years in victory or peace, beloved by my subjects, dreaded by my enemies, and respected by my allies. Riches and honours, power and pleasures have waited on my call; nor does any earthly blessing seem to have been wanting to complete my felicity. In this situation I have diligently numbered the days of pure and perfect happiness which have fallen to my lot,—they amount to fourteen!—O man, place not thy confidence in this present world."

This summary of earthly glory will be better

appreciated after an estimate of his wealth and acts. The royal revenue of this monarch is supposed to have amounted to six millions sterling, probably equalling that of all Europe besides, at the time[1]. He built the palace of Azahra near Cordova: its walls were lined with jasper, its 4,300 columns were of jasper and marble; the jasper fountain, with the water thrown by a golden swan, was surmounted by a dome, from which hung the wondrous pearl presented by the Greek emperor. In the pavilion of the gardens was a fountain of quicksilver, instead of water. In the gardens were baths of marble, with screens of silk and gold tissue, surrounded by laurels and myrtles[2]. For an accompaniment to this palace, he founded a city, with a mosque to rival the gorgeous one of Cordova. Here he set up a mint, whence were issued the first caliphate coins of Spain; for the Arabs had till then used the currency of Damascus. This mint was conducted by Jews, for several centuries; not only because of their superior workmanship, but also in consideration of their mercantile facilities of circulation. It was to this caliph that Bar Hhasdai was the Hagib.

[1] Carlyle's translations from the Arabic, p. 133.

[2] Cardonne, Histoire de la Domination des Arabes, t. i. p. 334.

Meanwhile, the Christians residing under the Mohammedan dominion manifested a decided partiality for the Arabic literature. Alvaro of Cordova complained in the tenth century that scarcely one Christian in a thousand could write a letter in Latin, but that they applied themselves to Hebrew and Arabic composition [1]. He himself and two friends were able to compose Latin verses, but the Latin of that period was strangely deteriorated. Books were so scarce, that one and the same Bible, with St. Jerome's Epistles appended, was in use by several monasteries alternately. John Gorz, a monkish envoy from Otho of Germany to Cordova, about A.D. 960, reproached the Christian clergy with having so far complied with Mohammedan prejudices, as to practise circumcision, and to abstain from wine and pork. These excused themselves by pleading the necessity of the times under Arab constraint; that their fathers had done the same; that by eating with the Arabs they gained more esteem than did the Jews; that the Apostle forbids resistance to the powers that be; that this was a temporary condition to which they were reduced for their sins; and they concluded by entreating the embassy to desist from their proposed attempt to convert the caliph, and to

[1] Sarmiento and Aldrete.

suppress their letter of credentials from king Otho; all of which excited such indignation in the German monks, with their stern simplicity of sackcloth habits, that they rebuked the Mozarabic bishop for the degeneracy of himself and his Church [1]. This occurrence affords an insight into the state of the Southern Spanish Church, from which it gradually lapsed the lower, till, in later times, when the great cities were retaken by the old Catholics of Castille and Aragon, not a Christian was found remaining in them [2].

The Omeiad caliphate subsisted about 270 years, and was finally broken up by civil wars, and party dissensions, under feeble monarchs.

[1] Fleury, Histoire Eccl. xii. 55. [2] Gibbon from Pagus.

CHAPTER XIII.

ORIENTALISM IN SPAIN—COUNCIL OF COYACA —EPISTLE OF POPE ALEXANDER II.—MASSACRE AT GRANADA—EPISTLE OF POPE GREGORY — THE ALMORAVIDES — DEATH OF R. ISAAC AL-FES—HEBREW AUTHORS.

When the sun shines the ants are busy, and their steady occupation is brought before our notice. When peace and freedom are secured, there is sunshine for Jewish industry: and enviable must have been the lot of those residing between the Pyrenees and the Atlantic in the eleventh century, even without a national independence, compared with that of past ages, and the actual condition of most of their brethren elsewhere. Together with religious toleration, there was within their reach a diffusion of the elegant arts and literature. Add to these the Oriental customs, dresses, and dialects, the very presence of which must, at all times, make a Jew feel doubly that he is a Jew, by creating impressions which harmonize with his own peculiarities, and enhance the effect of his religion and language. There was, moreover, the

brotherly congeniality which he might feel for the Arab, inasmuch as both were sons of Abraham; both held to the covenant of circumcision, as from divine precept; and both were remarkable for a zealous abhorrence of aught that could infringe on the pure unity of the object of worship. The Moslem proclaimed, "There is no God but God;" and the Hebrew rejoined, "Hear O Israel, the Lord our God is One [1]."

An Israelite contented with his sojourn in Spain, would be able to trace several resemblances in particular objects of that country with those of the Holy Land. Granada with her environs might remind him of "the good land: a land of brooks of water, and fountains, and depths, that spring out of the valleys and hills: a land of wheat and barley, and vines, and fig-trees, and *pomegranates:* a land of oil-olive and honey: a land wherein thou shall eat bread without scarceness: thou shalt not lack any thing in it: a land whose stones are iron, and out of whose hills thou mayest dig brass [1]," (or, in Granada, silver and quicksilver.) That district which the Spaniards designate

[1] It is not meant that in this point they were more correct in theory than the Catholic Church, which was guarded by the Nicene Creed; but that the latter were not so scrupulous as they were to "avoid every appearance of evil."

[2] Deut. viii. 7, &c.

Campo de Dios[1], would, by its very name, recal their own Jezreel; the Sierra Nevada, the snowy Lebanon; Monserrat, the mount Tabor; Elche, "the city of dates" near Alicant, would represent Jericho in its appellation of "city of palm-trees." Betwixt Seville and San Lucar, there exists a strong *mirage* in the sand[2], a counterpart to such delusions in Asia. The very rocks and mountainous chains of central Spain, would confirm the resemblance to Judæa; and the sea which laves the coast, is the self-same Mediterranean. All this is fanciful enough; but trifles have power to strengthen an attachment already formed. And the two sons of R. Hezekiah escaping from Babylon at the overthrow of the college of the Gaonim, and the murder of their father its president, they and their companions arriving at Cordova, must have welcomed as tenderly the view of the stately palms, as did their planter, the first Abderrahhman. This dispersion occurred in 1039; and thus the whole learning of that long and justly celebrated college was transferred from the Euphrates to the happier Guadalquivir.

At the schism of the Mohammedan territory into the petty independent royalties of Cordova,

[1] "Rice yesterday, and wheat to-morrow." A proverb used to indicate the extraordinary fertility of this plain.

[2] Inglis's Spain in 1830, ii. 91.

Seville, Toledo, Valencia, and Zaragoza, the Christian interest could not fail to prosper. In 1035, Castille was constituted a kingdom instead of a county, and its sovereign, Ferdinand, uniting it to Leon (which comprised also Gallicia, Asturias, &c.), assumed the title of emperor.

A council was summoned at Coyaca, in Asturias, A.D. 1050, the enactments of which are written in the Spanish of that period, as far as the sixth, which is made in Latin, and is to this effect[1]:—

"In this sixth paragraph we admonish all Christian people, that on Saturday evenings (die Sabbathi advesperascente) they repair to their church, and also on the Lord's day morning (Dominica matutina) to hear mass and the hours: They may not practise servile labour, nor undertake journeys, except for the purpose of public worship, or burying the dead, or visiting the sick, or upon the king's private business, or to repel an attack of the Saracens[2]." Here it may not be out of place to remark, that, in that period, the country contained three extensive religions, each claiming to be founded on Divine revelation, each holding for sacred the seventh day, yet each

[1] Collectio Maxima, &c. Aguirre.

[2] The Mohammedans were, at their first arrival, properly called Arabs or Saracens. After the subsequent invasions from Morocco, the Christians classed them all as Moors.

hallowing a different seventh day. The Mohammedans kept Friday, the Jews sanctified Saturday, and the Christians Sunday. To commence the Sabbath with the preceding sunset, was common to all the three. To proceed with the Coyaca canon:—

"Let no Christian dwell in the same house with a Jew, nor share food with them: Whosoever transgresses this command, he shall do penance for seven days: or refusing to do so, shall, if he be a nobleman (major persona), be excommunicated for one year; if an inferior person, receive one hundred lashes." (The penalty denounced against this enormity by the council of Elvira, 726 years before, was less precise: "He is to abstain from our communion, that he may learn to amend.")

There were Western crusades earlier than those directed towards Palestine; and *Dieu veult* was felt, if not uttered, before the council of Clermont in 1095: for, in 1066, the following encyclical letter from Pope Alexander II. to the bishops of Spain, is found referring to prior transactions of that nature:—

"The report lately received concerning you, was gratifying, in that ye have protected the Jews who sojourn with you from being massacred by those who were marching into Spain

against the Saracens, and who, influenced by foolish ignorance, or perchance by blind rapacity, desired to rush to the slaughter of those whom Divine goodness may have predestined to salvation.

"For thus did St. Gregory withstand such as burned to extirpate them: denouncing as impiety the wish to destroy those who by the mercy of God are still preserved, in order that, although condemned, through their forefathers' crime in shedding the Saviour's blood, to the loss of country and freedom, and to a long protracted misery, they may yet exist in dispersion over all the world.

"Moreover, the case of the Jews is widely different from that of the Saracens. It is lawful to fight against such as persecute Christians, by driving them from their cities and homes: but these [the Jews] are every where ready to serve [rather than to persecute].

"And he restrained every bishop that was inclined to destroy their synagogues [1]."

This epistle could hardly arrive too soon, if we may judge the temper of the age from the numerous instances of violence, in after-times, committed by Christian mail-clad warriors upon the

[1] Labbæus apud Aguirre.

unarmed Jews; and it is far more creditable to the humanity and the doctrinal dictation of the pontiff, than was the savage Gothic resolve that none should dwell in the land, "nisi Catholicus sit." But, in the seventh century, the pope would not have presumed to direct the Toledan prelates.

About the year A.D. 1068, "At Granada [1], that great city, a conspiracy was formed against R. Joseph the Levite, whom they slew, together with 1500 families; and whoever is ignorant of their former splendour, felicity, and glory, has never heard any of fame's reports, since they were eminent in wisdom and religion. Not only the neighbours, but those from afar afflicted them, both because they knew them to be illustrious, and also because they feared that the same misfortune would occur to themselves [if they did not assist]. And this calamity befel on the ninth day of December,—a day that had been set apart by our ancestors for a solemn fast, and is entered in the calendar of fasts, although the original reason of it is [now] unknown. But it is probable that this fearful day was marked out by Divine inspiration, as R. Abraham is of opinion, in his book on Tradition."

[1] Sceptre of Judah, p. 7.

Bartoloccio ascribes this persecution to the exasperation produced by an attempt made to convert the king to Judaism: a most unlikely task to be undertaken. The "Branch of David" refers the destruction to the provocation caused by the riches and haughtiness of the said R. Joseph; whose conduct formed a perfect contrast to the modest wisdom of his father Samuel, whom he succeeded as ruler of the Synagogue.

The Hebrew colony had undoubtedly flourished in Granada, for they had enjoyed above three centuries and a half of undisturbed tranquillity since the coming of the Arabs; and Granada was even then designated a Jewish city. The son of the above R. Joseph escaped to R. Isaac aben Gheath of Lucena, where he found a peaceful asylum[1]. The youth died soon afterwards, and his venerable benefactor, oppressed with grief and the infirmities of age, removed to Cordova, and there died.

Toledo was taken in 1080, by Alonso VI. of Castille, after a siege of seven years, in the operations of which he was aided by many French and Germans. The elation of the Christians was extreme at this recovery of the old Gothic metropolis, after its defilement by Mohammedan usurpation, and the false religion, for 372 years: and

[1] "The attachment of brethren in distress exceeds that of brethren by birth."—Talmud.

the Catholic boundary now rested upon the natural defence of the Tagus. It was on this occasion that the Jews of that city made the pretensions described in our second chapter, and received some unexpected concessions; for which, however, the conqueror was soon rebuked by the bold pope Hildebrand, the successor, in the chair of St. Peter, to the Alexander who lately addressed the bishops of Spain. After annulling Alonso's marriage, and thrusting the Roman liturgy into the churches, the Pontiff proceeds in his dictation:—

"But bound as we are to congratulate thee on thy good deserts, we are not the less compelled to lament and forbid what is wrong. We do counsel thee to suffer *no longer* the Jews to hold dominion or authority over Christians. For what is the subjection of Christians to Jewish rule, but to depress the Church of God, and exalt the synagogue of Satan? and what is the desire to favour the foes of Christ, but the contempt of Christ Himself? Beware, my son, of acting towards thy Lord and Creator, as thou wouldst not endure to have done to thee by any servant of thine.

"Call to mind the honour and praise which the goodness of Christ has vouchsafed to thee above all the kings of Spain; and study to repay Him, by exhibiting in all thy actions, as it were, a counterpart of His will; and so remember to

submit thyself in all things, as to merit exaltation here, and in the life to come. For it is indeed most just that one man, even thyself, should be subject to Him who has given above a thousand thousands of men to thy sceptre [1]."

For six years more the cities along the Tagus were captured one by one, until Aben Abed, the Moorish king of Seville, hitherto the firm ally of the Castillians, was so alarmed at these repeated inroads, extending on one occasion as far as Medina Sidonia, that he wrote to expostulate with the Christian faith-breaker. Alonso, in return, despatched his Jewish treasurer with 500 soldiers to demand tribute from Seville, and moreover to claim certain towns and castles, said to belong to Toledo! The envoy found Aben Abed at Cordova, and no sooner had he enunciated his message, than the enraged king ordered his eyes to be put out, and the military escort to be cut to pieces. But in the war which ensued, he found himself unable to cope with the larger and concentrated force of the Christians; he therefore invited to his succour 10,000 Almoravide Moors, under their popular chief Yusuf (Joseph), from Morocco; a desperate remedy, for the check which these gave to Alonso, in the great battle of Xalaca, was pur-

[1] Sandoval, Historia de los reyes de Castilla y de Leon.

chased at the price of the liberty of all the Arab principalities, whom this coarse, illiterate race then subdued and plundered, carrying their booty beyond sea, and occasionally returning for fresh and galling extortions. Zaragoza, however, sustained its independence.

Abdallah, king of Granada, was styled the mathematician, from his predilection for studies of that nature. During twenty years he retained at his court R. Isaac ben Baruch aben Alcaliah for his instructor. And of this rabbi it is related[1], that, "when dying (in 1094), and scarcely able to speak, he summoned his son, and whispered, 'Go to R. Isaac Al-fes[2], and tell him I am dying, and I forgive him all the bitter and injurious words that he has used regarding me, either in speech or writing, and I humbly beg him to pardon me on the same account. And do thou remain under his care, for I assure thee that he will profit thee greatly, and teach thee with all his power.' R. Baruch did so, after performing the funeral duties for his father. And when R. Isaac Al-fes heard these words, he arose, and rent his garments, and wept with a great weeping. When he had appeased his grief and was consoled, he called R. Baruch, the son of the deceased Isaac, and instructed him all the days of his life."

[1] The Juhhassin. [2] Or Al-Fez.

This R. Isaac was now in an advanced age. Nine years before this time he had forsaken his native Fez, in Spanish Africa, through the persecution of envious rivals, and settled in Cordova, where his lectures on the Talmud procured him a high reputation, and a similar persecution of jealousy to that which he had experienced at home. He therefore retired to Lucena for a peaceful retreat. These lectures are so highly valued by later rabbis, that, in the Nomologia of Abu-Ab, the volume is styled "The little Talmud." He died upon a sabbath day, aged ninety, esteemed as a teacher, and beloved for his private virtues. Upon his monument was afterwards placed this epitaph [1], in metrical lines; very hyperbolical, but grateful:—

"Write with a pen of iron, on the hardest stone;
The days of the world are ended; it is created anew.
Say that in this tomb is laid the spring of knowledge.
Come ye sons of Zion in grief; for sorrow is graven here,
Which shall be heavy to the memory in every coming age.
He is buried; and the world is in darkness.
Wail over him bitterly; for the tables [2] are broken, and the ark."

Hebrew poetry was much cultivated about this time. Hymns and Elegies in rhyme, of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, have been preserved

[1] "Branch of David." [2] Tables of the Law.

by Buxtorf, Plantavitius, Bartoloccio, Placcio, N. Antonio, Wolfius, &c. This kind of versification the Christians assert to have been borrowed from the Arabs. They, however, trace their use of rhymes to the time of the second Temple, if not earlier; and Sarmiento[1] believes them. Buxtorf quotes a rabbinical proverb, which is itself in rhyme:—

"What saith the art of music among the Christians?
I was assuredly stolen from the land of the Hebrews[2]."

(The art of music comprised poetical composition, in Jewish phraseology, just as their term grammar included rhetoric, criticism, &c.) Some authors have laboriously detected rhymes in the song of Moses (Deut. xxxii. 1.), in the Psalms, and in the Proverbs: but the instances they adduce are but vague and occasional assonances, and sometimes not that, when the accentual pauses are heeded.

The principal Hebrew poets of this time were:—

I. R. Isaac aben Gheath of Lucena, who died in 1089, skilled in Greek as well as Arabic and Hebrew. He wrote:—

1. Hymns, including the Chaldee "Hymn of Pleasantness," still chaunted at Purim, previous to unrolling the Megillah (volume of Esther).

[1] Obras posthumas. [2] See Appendix G.

2. Comment on Ecclesiastes.

He was nephew to three celebrated rabbis, Samuel, Jacob, and Isaac, sons of R. Meir ben Samuel. We have seen that he received the son of R. Joseph the Levite when escaping from the massacre of Granada.

II. R. Moses Gikatila of Cordova, cited by Aben Ezra under the name of Moses Cohen (the priest). Besides poems, he wrote :—

1. " Book of Words," a vocabulary of Hebrew.
2. Translation of Job into Arabic.
3. Various other translations from Hebrew to Arabic.

III. R. Solomon Gabirol of Malaga, concerning whom Charizi affirms, that he surpassed all Hebrew poets before him, and that all since his time have taken his works for their models :—

1. " Azaroth," the 613 precepts of the Law n verse.
2. " Moral Instruction for the Soul."
3. " The Royal Crown," still used in the Spanish Liturgy on the eve of the atonement.
4. " The Fountain of Life." (Prov xiii. 14.)
5. Various hymns, some still in use.

IV. R. Moses aben Ezra of Granada, died A.D.

1100. Commended in R. Abraham ben David's "Book of Tradition," for his knowledge of Scripture, and Greek literature, as well as nobility of birth. He wrote:—

1. "Chains of Gold." (Prov. i. 9.) Sacred poetry.

2. "The Place of Spices," or prayers for the festivals.

3. "Tarshish," a poem.

4. On Eloquence and Poetry, with an Arabic paraphrase.

5. Comment on the book of Psalms.

6. "Moral Instruction."

7. A Philosophical Treatise mentioned by Wolfius, but still unprinted.

Other Hebrew writers of the period were:—

I. Samuel Naghid of Cordova, an excellent scholar in Arabic, and, as they say, in every science. He was employed as secretary to the king of Granada, and died at an advanced age in 1055. It was the son of this author who was ruler of the synagogue at the time of the massacre. His writings are:—

1. The "Book of Riches."

2. Preface to the Talmud.

4. Defence of his preceptor, R. Chiug, against R. Jonah aben Ganahh.

4. The "Son of Proverbs," (or parables) consisting of poems which are represented as profound and magnificent.

II. R. Isaac aben Alcaliah, born 1035, mathematical teacher and major-domo to the king of Granada. His nephew, Abraham ben David, affirms that he was skilled in the Greek language; and it is universally agreed that, at the age of thirty-four, his rabbinical acquirements procured his appointment as superintendent of the synagogues throughout Spain. It is reported that his ancestors arrived in Merida at the great dispersion by Titus, as the silk trade was there in repute, and they knew how to make veils [1]; but the family afterwards removed to Cordova.

This R. Isaac commenced a large work on the difficult passages of the Talmud, which he entituled "The Chest of the Spice Merchants;" but leaving it unfinished, it was continued by his son, R. Baruch, who had repaired to R. Isaac Al-fes.

III. Zachariah the Levite, author of:—

1. "The Army," an introduction to the Talmud.
2. "The Two Lights," (Gen. i. 16.) in opposition

[1] In accordance with the well-known Jewish practice of training even the wealthy and the learned to some trade in their childhood.—Compare Acts xxi. 39. and xxii. 3. with xviii. 3.

to R. Isaac Al-fes. To this again a reply was made by Rabbenu Ephraim.

Though a native of Languedoc, he is designated *Spaniard* by Jewish writers, either because his native place belonged then to Spain, or on account of his long residence in Spain.

IV. R. Isaac ben Reuben of Barcelona; about 1078:

1. On legal documents, and on the Talmudic marriage contracts.

2. On buying and selling, borrowing, and lending, forming of contracts, &c.

3. "Azaroth," the 613 precepts, in verse.

V. R. Joseph Bar Meir, the Levite, from 1077 to 1141:

1. Notices on the various Codices of the Talmud.

2. Legal Constitutions.

3. Reply to Questions.

4. "The Glory of God," (Ps. xix. 1.) on the Torah (written law). He had the honour, for some time, to impart instruction to Moses bar Maimon, who gratefully records his memory in the preface to the Mishna.

VI. R. Judah ben Barzili of Barcelona:

1. On the Rites and Duties of Women.
2. "Book of Seasons," on the festivals.
3. "Ordinances of Contracts."
4. A Diffuse Comment on the Talmud.

VII. R. Jonah aben Ganahh, was an eminent physician at Cordova, and wrote esteemed grammatical treatises in Arabic, besides a Hebrew grammar and lexicon in Arabic, which is named "The Book of Embellishment."

VIII. R. Behhai (the judge) ben Joseph Pekuda, flourished about 1100, and wrote "The Obligation of the Heart," a moral work, of rather an ascetic tendency; since translated from Arabic to Hebrew, by R. Judah aben Tibbon.

IX. R. Moses Haddarshan (i. e. the preacher,) of Narbonne. His works, often referred to by Rashi and others, are now lost.

X. R. Joseph Kimhhi of Narbonne, father of the celebrated David; he wrote:—

1. The "Book of Memory," a grammatical work often quoted by his son.
2. Hymn on the reading of Esther.
3. The "Book of the Faith."
4. The "Book of Holiness."
5. The "Revealed Book."
6. The "Wars of the Lord."

} Controversial works against Christianity.

7. Comment on the written Law.
8. Comment on the Prophecies.
9. Comment on the Book of Proverbs.
10. Comment on the Canticles.
11. Comment on Ecclesiastes, Ruth, and Esther.
12. The "Shekel of Holiness;" parables and maxims.

At this period it was found requisite to translate the Ecclesiastical canons into Arabic, for the use of such Christians as dwelt within the Mohammedan territory; and even in Castille, learning was at so low an ebb, that it is recorded, with especial praise, that king Ferdinand I. had all his children carefully instructed in useful pursuits; these, however, included very little of what would now be termed useful or literary. His son, the conqueror of Toledo, on one occasion, shortly before a battle, convened the Christian bishops and priests, also the rabbis of the Jews his vassals, to interpret a dream which troubled him. And nine years afterwards, the clergy of Toledo had recourse to the fiery ordeal, to decide which liturgy should be used in public worship,—the Mozarabic of St. Isidore, to which they had always been accustomed; or the Romish liturgy, newly commanded by pope Hildebrand (Gregory VII.).

CHAPTER XIV.

CRUSADES—BAPTISM OF PETER ALONSO—MASSACRE OF JEWS—POLITICAL EVENTS—ALMOHADS—INCIDENT TO JEWISH COURTIERS—HEBREW AUTHORS.

In 1107, Bernard, archbishop of Toledo, was the only person of rank to accompany the Templars from Spain into the Holy Land. There was abundant employment of a crusading character at home for the real warriors.

These Eastern expeditions must have presented a strange anomaly to the Jewish people. Two religions pouring forth their various nations, of various languages on each side, to battle for the land and metropolis which belonged to themselves, a third people with a third religion. A devotional rabbi, watching the turns of great national occurrences, and comparing them with the faithful though ill-understood prophecies, would probably regard this upheaving of Asia and Eu-

rope as a means of preparing the restoration of Israel: an event that would not appear less than a "dignus vindice nodus," to be transacted on a gigantic scale, since their nation had in old time been delivered by the unlikely circumstance of both themselves and their Babylonish masters being conquered by Cyrus. And in the veiled counsels of the Almighty, these crusades might have accomplished the return "of the redeemed of the Lord, with singing unto Zion, with everlasting joy upon their heads[1]." But they did not: the occupation of Jerusalem by the Latin religionists, was eminently subversive of Jewish hopes; and that territory is to this day the property of votaries to the Mohammedan imposture.

Throughout Europe (among other countries the "Branch of David" expressly mentions Spain) the march of the red-cross armies was piously[2] signalized by assaults upon the Jews. So invariably was this the custom, that St. Bernard found it necessary to direct thus:—"The Jews are not to be persecuted, slaughtered, nor even put to flight; for they are dispersed for this purpose, that while they are paying the just penalty of so great a

[1] Isaiah li. 11.

[2] "Canto l'arme pietose," &c. Ger. Lib.

crime, they continue to be witnesses of our redemption[1]."

A notable conversion to Christianity is recorded by Mariana, and Zurita[2], under the date of 1106. King Alonso I. of Aragon, and VII. of Castille, being at his capital of Huesca (recently taken from the Mohammedans) for the ceremonies of coronation and investiture of knighthood[3], on the feast of St. Peter, he stood godfather at the baptism of a learned Jew, who, in renouncing his paternal faith, changed his name from Moses Tsadik to Peter Alonso, in honour of the saint and the monarch. This sacrament was administered by the bishop of the city; and some attribute the conversion to the religious argumentation of Alonso himself. "On such a point," says Mariana, "let every one believe what he thinks most probable." The erudition of this "new soldier of Christ," was soon directed to compiling a treatise against Judaism, which is said to have had considerable effect. He likewise wrote against the Moslem religion.

A.D. 1107, the Almoravide tyrant Yusuf paid

[1] Epistle to Spires, apud Wagenseil in preface to "Tela ignea Satanæ."

[2] Añales de Aragon.

[3] Aynsa y Yriarte, Antiguedades de Huesca.

his last visit from Morocco into Spain, for he died in a short time, aged one hundred. He succeeded in extorting money from the Jews, under pretence of having found at Cordova a bond on their part to embrace Mohammedanism, if Messiah did not come before that precise year. To this forged document (for the Jews had never been so reduced by the Arabs, as to have such a declaration exacted) he now held them engaged, but accepted, in lieu of its penalty, a pecuniary contribution.

On a Sunday in August 1108, a massacre of Jews took place in Toledo, which Sandoval dismisses without statement of its cause or extent, by merely saying, "wherein many lives were lost[1]."

The movements of national transactions may be thus compressed:—

In 1126, the Moors gained a great victory, and made a dreadful slaughter. Leon and Castille carried on a war of succession to the throne. Aragon and Navarre suffered from the same calamity. The original Arabs were disposed to revolt from the Almoravide Moors, but, besides the usual alarms from the Christian quarter, they were in constant expectation of a new invasion

[1] Cronica de Alonso VII. (Adiciones.)

from Africa: in the mosques, therefore, was daily offered the Azala, or Worship of Fear, at which it was permitted to attend in armour, and to omit the ablution before prayer. Alonso of Aragon and Navarre having at his death bequeathed his whole dominions to the Knights Templar, except a few towns and villages, which he gave in like manner to certain churches and monasteries, the indignant Aragonese elected his brother Ramirez to be their king; and after long debate among the highest powers of Christendom, the Templars received in compensation a right to the vassal-service of a certain number of Christians, Jews, and Moors, in *equal* proportion, from the principal cities of the kingdom, and from all places to be thenceforward conquered from the Moors. In 1139, a crusading armament of French and English in the Tagus assisted in the overthrow of five Moorish princes at Campo de Ourique: the result was the establishment of the new kingdom of Portugal.

In 1145, arrived at Algeziras an army of the Almohad or Unitarian sect of Moors from Africa, who pretended to a reformation of Spanish Moslemism, asserting that the stern original doctrine of God's Unity had suffered damage from long contact with the Christians. They were unwelcome visitors, both to the old-established Arabs,

and to the later Almoravides: these last, after a rule of eighty years, succumbed to the Almohads, whose supremacy proved much more favourable to peace and the fine arts.

About this time the emperor of Castille took Cordova, which, however, he was unable to retain, having no strong places for his support within easy reach: but he succeeded in stabling his horses within the magnificent mosque of Abderrahhman. An edifice of six hundred feet by two hundred and fifty, with a minaret of two hundred and forty-three feet in height[1]; the interior was formed into thirty-eight aisles traversed with nineteen, by one hundred and nine pillars of jasper and marble alternately; there were nineteen gates of wrought bronze, the central one being covered with plates of gold: for evening prayer there were four thousand six hundred lamps, consuming one hundred and twenty pounds annually of ambergris and aloes to perfume their oil; and the lamp of the Mihrab, or niche in the wall serving to indicate the direction of Mecca, was of exquisitely wrought gold. In the outer courts were fountains, orange-trees, and palms, "so as to put those who came to pray in mind of paradise." A very handsome stable for the Christian monarch.

During the minority of Alonso VIII. is placed

[1] More than forty feet higher than the monument of London.

by the "Sceptre of Judah" the following incident:—

The royal treasurer was a Jew, Joseph ben Ephraim, grandson of Abiboset the Levite; handsome, prudent, skilled in music, and trustworthy: he had sons of nobles for attendants, a chariot with horses, and a guard of fifty. Martin Gonsalo, a warrior, was subordinate to this Joseph, but under the influence of anger and envy, he withdrew, and laboured to prejudice the mind of the youthful king against the Jews. He offered to purchase of the crown the vassalage[1] of Joseph the treasurer, Samuel ben Waker the physician, recently appointed councillor, and ten other principal Jews, with all their families, for a specified sum of money. The king consented, and Joseph was so ill-treated by his new lord, as to die under his sufferings. On hearing this, Alonso was highly indignant, and gave his late favourite an honourable burial at Cordova, attended by a procession of cavalry soldiers; and he released his family and goods.

The persecutor then imprisoned Samuel Waker,

[1] The Castillian Jews of the middle ages were vassals immediately of the crown, as the feudal system could assign them no other position; and this privilege was often their protection from outrage, their appeals being made to the king in council.

his two brothers, and his children; seized his property, tortured him to death, and kept him unburied for a year, until his death was discovered by *an astrologer*.

The youthful mind of the king was diverted and kept occupied by Gonsalo, whom he raised to the nobility of Alcantara. This favourite pursued his unrelenting project of destroying the Jews, removing at first the principal men from court, one at a time, so as not to alarm the king's suspicions. Sending for Samuel ben Jehasi, and R. Moses Aboriel, he requested a sum of money as a loan to the crown, too large to be procured, and then offered his mediation to conciliate the king with whatever sum they could afford. But this scheme was frustrated by the Jews carrying their contribution themselves the next day; and the king was pleased to retain R. Moses as his principal secretary.

A Moorish war gave a new occasion to Gonsalo for proceeding in his object. He proposed to banish the Jews, and make use of their possessions to meet the exigencies of the army: offering to purchase the right of making this seizure for a large amount of ready money; but this proposition the nobles withstood, particularly the archbishop Giles; and when R. Moses heard this

counsel of their enemy, he sent letters to all the synagogues; and the congregations wept, fasted, and prayed before God.

Gonsalo being successful in his expedition, conceived that now the king would refuse him no petition he could make. "But he knew not that God's mighty hand was against him;" for the king, aware of his design, and inclined to favour the Jews, sent to apprehend him amidst his army: but he fled to a strong city, and endeavoured to treat with his sovereign, using, with those about him, the most contemptuous epithets against the king. Alonso ordered all his goods to be confiscated, his brothers to be imprisoned, and the strong city to be invested, so as to take him alive. The king's esquire being slain by the archers on the walls, he had the castle set on fire, and as the rebel attempted to escape, he was taken, slain, and cast into the flames. "This was in the month of February, and all Israel sang this song unto God their deliverer: 'Sing unto God for He is good, and hath favourably regarded His people for His mercies' sake: God is a man of war, He hath fought for us. Thy right hand O God is strong, and by thy thunder hast thou cast down all our enemies, and rewarded them for their wickedness.'"

The monarch then recollected the train of past

occurrences: the contract of selling the vassalage was sought out and cancelled; and the relatives of Gonsalo sold in the same manner to the Jews. The royal signet which had been taken from the hand of the rebel was bestowed on R. Moses the secretary; "and all the Jews in the kingdom of Castille had great gladness for so many blessings from God."

About 1188, Navarre and Castille laid their dispute before Henry II. of England, for his arbitration. The preliminary security tendered by Castille, consisted of four fortresses; two of these fortresses, besides the one offered by Navarre, are stated to be towns of the *Jews*.

In the same year, the leader of the Almohads was killed at the siege of Santarem; and seven years after was fought the battle of Alarcos, where the Christians sustained defeat, and a dreadful loss of life. Ten years truce was the result.

During the heat of these important wars, was precisely the golden age of Judæo-Spanish literature, as the following list of authors and their writings will show; the greatest names will occur last:—

I. R. Joseph Haddaian (the judge) ben Jacob

aben Sahal, a disciple of R. Isaac aben Gheath. Besides his verses, which are esteemed, he wrote a work on the Ten Commandments. He was elected rab of Cordova in 1113.

II. R. David ben Pekuda, author of the Anthem in Synagogue service, "For thy sake, O my God."

III. R. Abraham bar Hhiia, the astronomer, or the prince, was living in 1136. His writings are highly valued:

1. A large work on astronomy.
2. On the Embolismic Calculations.
3. On "The Figure of the Earth."
4. On circles and triangles.
5. "Volume of the Revealer," on the redemption of Israel, the resurrection of the dead, and the advent of Messiah, the date of which he ventured to predict by an astronomical computation.
6. "Meditation of a Repentant Soul," in four parts.—1. On man's origin and wondrous nature. —2. On the duties of life.—3. On the return to God by penitence.—4. On dying well, and on the close of this life.

IV. R. Judah the Levite, brother-in-law of Aben Ezra, as they married two sisters:

1. A dissertation on the ineffable name of God.

2. "Poems," both in Hebrew and Arabic; one of the former is a Purim hymn, commencing with, "Lord thy mercy," &c.; another is a lament on the desolation of Zion. He has been styled by Charizi "a prince of poets."

3. "The Cozari," an argumentative dialogue based on the mere name and idea of Bar Hhasdai's letter to the king of Cozar, three centuries before. Its object is to exhibit the errors of the Gentiles in religion, and the false opinions of philosophers; to prove the truth of traditional law, in opposition to the Karaim; also to show by reason the possibility that God should reveal His will to man, and that He should prescribe one particular set of precepts and form of worship; concluding with a masterly and elegant declaration of the most serious subjects in religion[1]."

This rabbi at the age of fifty undertook a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, at the time when the Latin kingdom was on the verge of extinction. On beholding the city, he rent his clothes, and walked towards it barefoot, in compliance with Exod. iii. 5; his heart yearning with the sentiment of Lam. ii. 1. But while chaunting aloud the pathetic lament of his own composition, a train of brutal

[1] Abendana, cited in "Dizionario storico degli Autori Ebrei e delle loro opere."—By De Rossi.

Turks that were passing, rode up, and trampled him to death.

V. R. Judah bar Saul aben Tibbon of Granada, noted for his translations from Arabic to Hebrew, among which were, the grammar of R. Jonah aben Ganahh; R. Saadias Gaon on the Faith; and the Cozari of R. Judah the Levite. He was author of:—

1. A letter of instruction to his son.
2. A treatise on the four elements.

VI. R. Samuel ben Judah aben Tibbon, son of the above, whose translations from Arabic to Hebrew are enumerated, by R. Moses bar Maimon, as:

1. The "Moreh Nebuchim."
2. Letter on the resurrection.
3. Comment on "Chapters of the Fathers."
4. The "Spirit of Favour."
5. "Sentences of Philosophers."
6. Alpharabius on natural principles.
7. Aristotle on meteors.

—He was, moreover, author of

1. "The Gathering of the Waters" (Gen. i. 10.) on the natural elements.
2. A Comment on Ecclesiastes.

3. Elucidation of dark places in the Talmud.

4. A Dictionary of philosophical terms, and exotic words introduced into the Rabbinical Hebrew.

VII. R. Abraham ben David of Pesquiera in Castille, died 1198, high in repute as a Talmudic Judge:

1. Animadversions on Bar Maimon's "Mighty hand," and on R. Isaac Al-fes.

2. New observations on various Talmudic tracts.

3. Annotations on Siphré, or the "Law of the Priests."

4. Legal decisions.

5. "Animated Creation."

6. "Annotations on Jetsirah[1]."

VIII. R. Isaac bar Abba, though of Marseilles, he resided nearly all his life in Leon, and wrote:—

1. On Judicial rites.

2. On the Decalogue.

3. "The Crowned Book of the Scribes."

4. "The Hundred-fold," (Gen. xxvi. 12.) which is an annotation on R. Isaac Al-fes.

[1] A Cabalistic work ascribed to the patriarch Abraham.

IX. R. Meir ben Todros of Burgos, who removed to Toledo, and published:—

1. A Cabalistic Work.

2. Annotation on "Chapters of the Fathers."

X. R. Abraham aben David, or Daor, the Levite, author of:—

1. "The Book of Tradition," in 1161, against Abu Alpharag the Sadducee, whose sect is said to have abounded in Leon and Castille; to demonstrate the uninterrupted oral delivery of doctrine from Moses through the Prophets, Pharisees, and rabbis, to that very period; showing at the same time the heresy of his opponents[1].

2. "Replies," to Abu Alpharag on the section of the Law named "The Journeyings," i. e. Numbers xxxiii. &c.

3. "Exalted Faith," in Arabic, on the elements of nature, and their capability of leading to elements of religious faith; on these elements of faith, and on the medicine for the soul in its infirmities.

4. Astronomical Notices.

[1] Upon this, Bartoloceio indulges in a tirade against the Protestant sects, whose want of unanimity betrays their alienation from the ever consistent tradition of the Catholic Church.

XI. R. Abraham aben Hhaiim:—

1. On the mode of preparing colours and gilding for the illumination of MSS.

2. On the initial ornamented letters of MSS. of the law.

XII. R. Abraham bar Hhasdai, arch-rabbi of Barcelona. He translated from Arabic to Hebrew:—

1. The "Pomegranate," or moral sayings of the wise.

2. The "Book of the Soul;" a dialogue on morals.

3. The "Just Balances," a moral work by Algazali.

4. "The King's Son, and the Nazarene," a dialogue on manners and customs, and the fear of God; originally written in Greek.

5. "The Foundations," or "Elements," by R. Isaac bar Solomon Israeli.

—He also took a part in the celebrated controversy on the works of Moses bar Maimon.

XIII. R. Moses Kimhhi, brother of R. David:—

1. "Road to Knowledge," on Grammar.

2. Comment on Job.

3. Comment on Proverbs.

XIV. R. Abraham Aben Ezra, "the Sage" emphatically; native of Toledo. He was skilled in many languages, particularly Arabic. Endowed with great genius and desire of information, he seldom lived in Spain, but travelled over France, England, Italy, Greece, and other countries, and died at Rhodes, aged seventy-five, the year is disputed between 1148, 1168, 1174, and 1194. At the moment of death he was repeating the fourth verse of Gen. xii. "And Abraham was seventy and five years old when he departed out of Hharran," but inserting ו in the last word, and adding עולם, he thus showed that he applied the verse to himself as departing from the animosities of this world. His remains were conveyed to the Holy Land, and deposited in a small place called Cabul. His writings are:—

1. Commentary on the whole Scriptures, with a Preface. Upon the book of Job he threw considerable light, by his knowledge of Arabic; and criticised its Arabic paraphrase made by R. Saadias Gaon of Babylon in the seventh century. His comments on Canticles, Joel, Jonah, Obadiah, and Zephaniah, have been translated into Latin. To that on Hosea he subjoined the Targum of Jonathan, and the comments of Rashi and Kimhhi.

Cabalistic.

2. "The Secrets of the Law," written in Rome, A.D. 1167.

3. "The Foundation of Fear."

4. On the Name (of God.)

5. "Mystery" on the Hebrew alphabet.

Poetical.

6. "Song of the Soul."

7. Various poems.

8. On Chess.

9. On the Soul's Reward or Punishment.

Arithmetical.

10. "Book of Arithmetic."

11. "The Book of One" on the power of the single numerals, i. e. from one to ten.

Grammatical.

12. Enigma of the Quiescent Letters, an obscure work.

13. "The Life of Purity."

14. "The Life of Excellency."

15. "Balance of the Holy Language," a most perfect grammar.

16. "Meditation of Skill," a small and elegant tract on pronunciation of the alphabet.

Astronomical and Astrological.

17. " Book of the World."

18. " Beginning of Wisdom," a translation from Arabic.

19. On Astronomy, and the Embolismic Years.

20. Replies to Astronomical Questions of R. Joseph of Narbonne.

21. On the Astrolabe, or Astronomy.

22. On the Instrument of Brass, i. e. the astrolabe.

23. " Book of Nativities."

24. Practice of the Astronomical Tables of Almatani.

Various.

25. " Acuteness of Thought," on the soul.

25. " The Good Name" (Prov. xxii. 1.)

27. " Epistle of the Sabbath," written in London, 1260.

The poem on chess is published by Hyde, " de ludis orientalibus," with a Latin version. The game is played out in rhymes, the moves being frequently attended with moral reflections, concluding with מָט (check *mate*); " and for his sake (i. e. the king's) all his troops are slain, and the redemption of his life is equivalent to theirs, the glory is gone, and they are no more his subjects, for their lord is slain; but, nevertheless, they may fight another battle, and those who are slain may

be revived." The poem commences with a history of the rise and progress of chess [1].

XV. R. David ben Joseph Kimhhi, called Radak, from the initials, generally said to be from Narbonne; but he always prefaced his writings with, "R. David, &c. the Spaniard."

His family had for ages previously given rulers of synagogues and chief of academies to Aragon and Castille. By the Jews he is commonly designated the "prince of grammarians;" and so highly are his syntactical and analytical elucidations of pure Scripture valued, that they have a proverb, "If no Kimhhi, no Torah [2]." However, his invectives against Christianity (such as it came under his notice) are excessively virulent.

Besides his valuable commentary on the Hebrew Bible, he also wrote:—

[1] In the same collection by Hyde, there is an extract from the Cozari, in favour of chess, (Shatrangi, in Arabic,) as being a game in which fortune or misfortune have no concern; the whole process depending on skill and prudence. There is also a Hebrew poem on chess, called "The King's Delight," (author unknown) which commences with a pious apology for diverting his studies from the holy law, but adding that his object was to reconcile two brothers by an amusement, after their father's authority had failed: he commends chess, as the only game that leads not into sin, and traces up its history.

[2] Adopted as a pun from Pirké Aboth, iii. 17.

1. "The Pen of a Scribe."

2. Comment on the Haphtaroth[1].

3. "Spiritual Medicine," a tract found appended to the comment on Joel and Malachi.

4. On the Creation as recorded in Genesis, and on the chariot in Ezekiel.

5. Comment on "Chapters of the Fathers" in the Talmud.

6. "Perfection," on Hebrew grammar.

7. "Roots," a Hebrew lexicon.

8. "Disputation against Christians."

9. "Replies to Christians."

XVI. R. Moses bar Nahhman or Ramban, by the initials, born at Gerona in 1194. In middle life he relinquished the practice of medicine, in order to devote himself to the study of Cabala, which he had previously despised. In this profound and delicious trifling, he so far surpassed all other writers since Akiba and Simon ben Johhai in the first Christian century, as to be considered the prince of Cabalists. His writings are:—

[1] Portions selected from the prophecies, corresponding as nearly as possible to the *parashoth* portions of the law, and like them read in the Synagogue service. They were first employed during the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes, when the law was forbidden to be read, under penalty of death.

Morals.

1. An Epistle on Morals

2. Epistle on Matrimony, to be undertaken in the fear of God.

3. "The Square Table," on courteousness at table.

4. "Book of the Manner of Men," (2 Sam. vii. 19.) on visiting the sick and the dead.

Cabalistic.

5. "Elucidation of the Law."

6. "The Orchard of Pomegranates," (Cant. iv. 13.)

7. "The Treasure of Life."

8. "The Garden of God's Delight."

9. On Some Verses in the Psalms.

10. "Book of the Secrets of the Law."

11. "Epistle of Desire."

12. "Book of Redemption."

13. Exposition of the Book Jetsirah.

14. "The Lily of Secrets," or whole art of Cabala.

Theological.

15. Explanations on Gemara.

16. On Faith and Confidence.

17. "Book of Wars," in defence of R. Al-fes.

18. Questions and Answers on the Law.

19. The Levitical Ministry, on the 613 precepts.

20. Comment on Job.

21. "The Book of the End," i. e. "of the world, and the coming of Messiah [1]."

22. Animadversions on the "Book of Precepts," by Moses bar Maimon.

23. "Book of Purification" ceremonial.

Besides a Lament over the Holy Temple.

XVII. R. Moses bar Maimon, called Moses the Egyptian, by the Christians Maimonides, and Rambam, from the initials of his names, was born at Cordova, on Passover eve, A.D. 1131, at the expense of his mother's life, who died in giving him birth. Said to be descended from R. Judah the Holy, (compiler of the Mishna,) and therefore by a female line from king David. Buxtorf quotes this his own statement of honourable pedigree: "I, Moses, son of Maimon the judge, son of Joseph the sage, son of Isaac the judge, son of Joseph the judge, son of Obadiah the judge, son of Solomon, son of Obadiah the judge." Yet the renown he himself acquired has eclipsed all these; for the well-known proverb declares, "From Moses to Moses, was none like

[1] The mind of a New Testament reader will easily recur to Matt. xxiv. 3.

to Moses," i. e. from the great lawgiver to this rabbi.

The "Chain of Tradition" relates, that in early life he was remarkably indolent and unpromising in genius, until roused by his father's reproaches, when he left his home, and repaired to the Synagogue for the study of the law, remaining there day and night, even sleeping within its walls. That he proceeded to the city of R. Joseph aben Megas, under whom he made a rapid progress; that returning in disguise to Cordova, he delivered so eloquent a discourse in that Synagogue, as to astonish the congregation; and that when made known, he was received with rapture by his father. The same work records a tradition that the father and son retired to a cave for the advantage of uninterrupted study during twelve years. The "Juhhassin" omits these romantic tales, and ascribes the culture of his virtues and talents to the care of his father and R. Megas.

At an early age for his reputation, he withdrew from Spain towards the East: the cause is said[1] to have been a decree from the Almohad monarch

[1] Abulfaragio and Casiri apud De Rossi. Also D'Herbelot, "Rambam (Maiemoun) Juif Espagnol, natif de Cordoue, lequel demeura Mahometan par force en Espagne, et qui vint ensuite en Egypte où il fit profession ouverte du Judaisme."—Bibl. Orient, 538.

Abdulmumen that all the Jews and Christians within his realm should embrace Mohammedanism; and that R. Moses conformed externally among the rest, until he had disposed of his goods, and embarked for Egypt, where he shook off his profession of Islamism and repaired to Cairo, perfecting his knowledge of medicine, while he maintained himself by the merchandize of jewels. With the friendly patronage of the cadi Al-Phadel Abdol Rakem aben Ali Al-Baissani, he opened an academy of philosophy and Jewish law, to which scholars repaired from many countries; and on the extinction of the ruling dynasty, when his friend became sovereign of Egypt, he was made physician to the court with an annual stipend. His elevation excited of course the envy of others; but when a Mohammedan lawyer from Spain accused him publicly of profaning their religion, by having abandoned it for Judaism, the king himself defended his physician, on the ground that a forced religion is no religion.

About this time, he wrote to R. Samuel aben Tibbon, who had proposed to visit him for the discussion of knotty questions. "I live in Egypt, at the distance of nearly two Sabbath-days' journey[1] from Al-Cairo, where the king resides. On him the duties of my appointment demand

[1] About two miles.

regular attendance every morning. If there be nothing required at court, I return home towards noon, and almost famished for want of food. I find the approaches to my house thronged with both Jews and Gentiles, men of all ranks, impatiently waiting my arrival. As soon as I have taken some refreshment, I examine my patients, until I become so overpowered with the fatigue of speaking and prescribing, that my speech almost fails me before I conclude." Yet he found time for numerous writings so profound and original, as to constitute a new era in his nation's religion and literature, both in the Arabic language, and a Hebrew nearly approaching the purity of Biblical composition.

On his death in 1205, the intelligence was conveyed to Jerusalem in seven days, and a fast was proclaimed for every synagogue, with Scriptural portions for the day's reading: Levit. xxvi. 3—27. and 1 Sam. iv. 1. to the words, "the ark of the Lord is taken!" The Mohammedans also fasted and bewailed his loss, and accompanied his bier in large crowds for two days of its progress to the Holy Land. He was interred at Tiberias, or as some say, at Hebron. So eminent a man may have miracles attributed to him after death, as well as the popish saints; accordingly it is said [1], that

[1] "Sceptre of Judah."

the procession was attacked by robbers, that the bearers forsook their charge, and the thieves, finding it to be only a funeral party, were for throwing the corpse into the sea; but suddenly the coffin became so heavy, that thirty men were not sufficient to lift it; hereupon they contented themselves with stripping the body of its phylacteries and garment of fringes; and even these they afterwards bestowed on a passing stranger.

The works of Moses bar Maimon are these:—

Medical.

1. Aphorisms of Hippocrates and Galen, with his own annotations.

2. On Regimen of Health.

Theological.

3. The "Moreh Nebuchim," (Guide of the perplexed,) written at the age of fifty, and considered highly useful to Christian theologians [1].

4. "Maddaa," (knowledge).

5. "Jad ha-hhazakah," (the "mighty hand," Exod. iii. 19.) or the "double law;" a complete pandect of Judaic civil and common law, in fourteen books, the work of twelve years.

6. The Book on Causation.

7. On the Knowledge of God.

8. On the Thirteen Articles of Faith.

[1] Rendered into Latin by Buxtorf, junior.—Basle 1629.

9. Comment on the Mishna. (*In Arabic.*)
10. Comment on the Gemara. (*Do.*)
11. Book of the Precepts. (*Do.*)
12. Epistle on the Resurrection of the Dead; written at the age of fifty-five. (*Do.*)
13. Book of Logic.
14. To the Rabbis of Montpellier, on Astrology.
15. Epistle to the Judge in Alexandria.
16. Answers to various Questions.
17. Replies to various Epistles.
18. Words of Erudition, and his will.

The "Moreh Nebuchim" was first published in Arabic, and presently translated into good Hebrew, by R. S. Tibbon. Its doctrines threw all the synagogues into consternation and division. Such an expurgation of Judaism from the legends of the Talmud, and such an effort to induce his people to use the common sense of general mankind in connexion with revealed truth, could not fail to arouse the bigotry of the old school of rabbinists. At Montpellier [1], R. Solomon and his friends excommunicated all who should read the "Moreh," and the "Maddaa," much more their author, and burned the books in the market-place.

[1] Belonging to Aragon until about 1340.

At Narbonne the rabbis took the opposite determination, and retaliated the excommunication. The former appealed to all the French synagogues for support, which was given in 1232. This schism, after an existence of many years, was at length healed by the authority and industry of R. David Kimhhi, who had been elected ruler of the Narbonnese, and had introduced the cause into the synagogues of Spain. Aided by R. Abraham bar Hhasdai, the arch-rabbi of Barcelona, he obtained a decretal epistle, dated Zaragoza 1232, to excommunicate the Montpellier party. The French rabbis were now so alarmed, that they all came over to the side of Kimhhi and the "Moreh:" there remained only R. Judah ben R. Joseph ben Alphacar, the arch-rabbi of Toledo, and a few of minor importance, as R. Meir ben Todros of Burgos, R. Meir ha-Cohen of Narbonne, then teaching at Toledo, and R. Abraham aben David the Levite, who still battled for the sacred authority of all the accumulated nonsense of dotard sages, abhorring all the profane research of human reason. These could not endure the doctrine that the precepts and ceremonies of Mosaic institution had any assignable final cause, and that when this motive ceases, the law itself must of necessity be at an end. That would be conceding a large field of argument, indeed, to the

Nazarenes; and in fact, upon this account, the "Moreh" was not prohibited by the Ecclesiastical censorship, as appears from Kimhhi's correspondence with R. Judah of Toledo.

The animosity was at first so violent, that the Montpellier antagonists pursued the corpse to its sepulchre, and erasing the simple inscription: "The greatest of men," they substituted "The excommunicate and heretic." They relented after a time, and had the more favourable epitaph restored.

The reformation thus far extended by R. Moses bar Maimon, is practically felt to the present day: his name is revered by the Jews, and highly respected by Hebrew-reading Christians. Another such a stride would emancipate the people from most of the rabbinic shackles, by which free investigation is impeded or punished. But neither the liberal erudition of Mendelsohn, nor the delirium of the Parisian Sanhedrin, has yet availed for so desirable an object.

Yet the "Hearer and Answerer of prayer" will hereafter open a medium of true light for His ancient and unforsaken people: the kinsmen of Jesus Christ, "according to the flesh," shall not be everlasting slaves to the mendacious Talmud; the reproach shall yet be rolled away from the natural compatriots of our Apostles, those best of

human benefactors; and the Church of Israel, in her rejoicing, shall no more call upon the Lord as Baali, but as Ishi [1]. When that day shall dawn, it will be lamented the more that Moses bar Maimon and his admirers did not further exert that high privilege of their talents, to bless and to receive blessings in return.

[1] Hosea ii. 16.

CHAPTER XV.

BENJAMIN OF TUDELA.

At this period lived and travelled R. Benjamin of Tudela. His Hebrew "Itinerary" has been translated into Latin by Arias Montanus in 1575, and by Constantine L'Empereur in 1633. Into French by the youthful J. P. Baratier in 1733; and into English by the Rev. B. Garrans in 1783.

The Jews commemorate him thus:

In the "Juhhassin;" "R. Benjamin travelled much, and died in the year 933, (A.D. 1173.) He was a great luminary, and his light arose upon all Israel."

In the "Branch of David;" "R. Benjamin, son of Jonah of Tudela, who travelled much. Setting out from Navarre, by continued travelling he visited all the shores of the world, Europe, Asia, and Africa: and wherever he came, he noted

all that he saw, or heard from the most worthy men, and consigning it to writing, he commemorated many honourable persons, and the number of Jews in many places. So that all that I have recounted you will find in his book intituled 'The Book of the Travels of R. Benjamin.' He was, moreover, one of the most wise and understanding in affairs among the skilful. After his return in 933, he died."

The "Chain of Tradition" states, that R. Benjamin began his travels in 1160.

R. Isaac ben Arama in his Commentary quotes the testimony of our author as to the existence in his time of a Prince of Captivity at Bagdad.

Among Christians, the book has not been favourably received. In the first place, the whole of its complexion is Jewish: recording, in every place of his arrival, the census, condition, and leading names of his nation; scarcely ever noticing the objects which usually invite the attention of Gentile travellers, such as customs, climate, language, politics, history, &c. In the second place, he commits numerous errors in dates and names, when he does refer to Gentile history: (a common fault in Jewish writers:) and thirdly, the further he advances from home, the more wonderful are his reports concerning the numbers and wealth of the Jews. These considerations

have induced every one of his translators to believe that he never quitted Spain, but made a compilation of all the travellers' tales he could gather respecting foreign lands. Dr. E. Clarke[1], and Basnage are of the same opinion. On the other hand, Gibbon remarks (chap. 53.): "The errors and fictions of the Jewish rabbi are not sufficient grounds to deny the reality of his travels." Some believe it to be a forgery, because it makes no mention of Bar Maimon, then residing at Cairo; or of Aben Ezra, then at Rhodes. But these names may have been designedly omitted, as David Kimhhi is scarcely mentioned by the Jewish historians. The "Branch of David" merely states, that R. David Kimhhi composed grammatical works, about the year 650 (A.D. 1190); and the "Juhhassin" says next to nothing. The "Itinerary" would probably have met a kinder fate, even as a piece of curiosity, had not the relation about Bagdad provoked the Church to condemn its dissemination, and the bigotry of after-times to join in the shout of reprobation;

[1] Travels, vol. ii. p. 514 (note). That it is possible to do so, with tolerable success, is proved by the example of Thevenot, who never quitted Europe, but yet is esteemed by Gibbon for his supposed accuracy: and Savary's Travels in Upper Egypt, which, according to Sonnini, he never saw. (White's Egyptiaca, p. 28.) Sir John Mandeville is another such author.

for all who have examined the book, are willing to acknowledge, that many incidental allusions to ancient manners, and glimpses of true history, may be collected from it, though not forming the author's chief subject.

Of the work itself, the following specimens may not be unacceptable:—

"Travels of R. Benjamin, &c."

[At Lunel in Languedoc.]—"Here is a sacred college of Israelites, who study the Law, day and night . . . . . All Jews coming to this place to be instructed in the Law from the most distant countries, are kindly received and supplied with food, clothes, &c. at the public charge, as long as they remain there. This place contains about three hundred Jews, whom may the Rock and Redeemer of Israel preserve!"

[Rome.]—"The mighty Rome, which is the metropolis of the Edomites[1]. About 200 Jews reside in this city, honourable men, who pay tribute to no power whatever. Several are in the service of pope Alexander, who is a very great prince, and chief of the Edomitish religion. Here are to be met some very wise men, the principal of whom are, the great R. Daniel, and R. Jehiel the pope's minister, a handsome young man, wise and

[1] Christians.

prudent, frequenting the palace as first steward, or manager of the pope's affairs. He is descended from R. Nathan, the author of 'Aruch,' and the 'Commentaries.' There is to be seen without Rome the palace of Titus, who was rejected by 300 senators for his disobedience, having spent three years more in the siege of Jerusalem than they had decreed for that purpose." [Then follows a crowd of such idle falsehood, which shows that Benjamin was no reader of Josephus.] "There is likewise a cave wherein Titus, son of Vespasian, laid up the vessels of the holy temple, which he brought from Jerusalem."

[Hharran.]—"In which place was indeed the home of our father Abraham, but no edifice now remains .... Twenty miles from Babylon reside 20,000 Jews, who worship in synagogues, or in that high chamber which Daniel the prophet built for himself of hewn stones and brick; there is also a synagogue, and the palace of Nebuchadnezzar, and the furnace into which were cast Ananias, Misael, and Azarias. This valley is renowned throughout the world."

[Jerusalem.]—"Here is, moreover, that great *high place*[1] called the sepulchre of *the* MAN[2],

[1] Church.

[2] שפולקרי קבר האיש. The language is cautiously guarded, yet expressive.

which is visited by all who are bound by vow to do so."

[Germany.]—"This country is full of hills and mountains, in which all the Jewish congregations dwell towards the great river Rhine."

[Paris.]—"Here are such disciples of wisdom [rabbinical] as are no where else to be met with throughout the world, who give up themselves to the study of the law both day and night. They are hospitable to strangers, and behave as brethren and friends to all their kindred and people. May God, out of His abundant mercy, have compassion on them and upon us, and may He fulfil that Scripture to us and them. 'If thou wilt return, He will gather thee from all the nations whither the Lord thy God hath scattered thee.' Amen, Amen, Amen. This work is perfected and finished."

The part most offensive to Christian writers, is this:—[Bagdad.]—"At the head of all [the Jews] is R. Daniel, son of R. Hhasdai, prince of the captivity, whom we call our lord. There is a book in which he traces his genealogy as far as king David. The Jews style him 'our lord,' or 'prince of the captivity;' and the Hagarenes[1] style him 'Saedna ben Dawoud,' [our lord the

[1] The Mohammedans.

son of David.] He holds extensive dominion over the assemblies of Israelites living in the empire of the commander of the faithful, the lord of the Ishmaelites. And the latter has ordained to his posterity, and has given to the prince of the captivity a seal to confirm his authority over all the assemblies of Israel in his empire. He has also commanded all people under his sway, both Jews and Ishmaelites, to stand up in his presence, and salute him, under penalty of a hundred lashes. Every time that he visits the great king to salute him, he is accompanied by many Jewish and Gentile horsemen, crying before him, 'Make way for our lord the son of David,' as is very suitable. They express it in their language by these words: 'Omulu tarik le Saedna ben Dawoud.' He is on horseback, with vestments of embroidered silk, his head covered with a large tiara, on which is a large white veil, and over the veil a diadem.

"The prince of the captivity licentiates the rabbis and singers in all the synagogues of the land of Sinar or Chaldæa, of Persia, of Khorassan, of Sheba or Arabia Felix, of Mesopotamia, of Kut about Mount Ararat, of the country of Alania, which is surrounded by mountains, so as to have no issue but by the *Iron-gates*[1] which Alex-

[1] Here the Turks were defeated in 1315.

ander constructed there; also the synagogues of Sicaria, as far as the mountains of Asana in the land of the Georgians, who are of the Nazarene religion; as far as the river Gihon; as far as the extremities of the provinces and country of Thibet; and as far as India. All these synagogues hold from the Prince of the Captivity their permission to have rabbis and singers; and these rabbis and singers repair to Bagdad to be installed in their office, and to receive authority, and laying on of hands, from the Prince of the Captivity, to whom they carry gifts and presents from the ends of the earth. He possesses at Babylon, houses, gardens, orchards, and large estates of land, which he inherits from his fathers, and none can take from him. He has also places of entertainment for the Jews. He has a tribute assigned him annually on the fairs, and on the land traffic, besides what is brought him from distant countries, so that he is very rich and mighty. He is also very learned, and conversant in the Scripture and the Talmud. He has always many Israelites entertained at his table.

" On the day of creating the Prince of the Captivity, that is to say, when the king instals him to his office by the laying on of hands, this prince of our nation makes large presents to the king, to the princes, and to his officers. They place him

in the chariot of the king's first minister, and convey him from the palace of the great king to his own palace with the sound of drums and flutes, where he confirms the members of his council by the laying on of hands.

"The Jews of that city are followers of the wise, and are very rich. There are twenty-eight synagogues of Jews in Bagdad and Alpharek, which is across the Tigris, for this river divides the city into two parts.

"The great synagogue of the Prince of the Captivity has marble columns of all colours, adorned with gold and silver; on these columns are written, in golden letters, various passages from the Psalms. In front of the ark are about ten steps of marble, on the highest of which sits the Prince of the Captivity, with all the princes of the house of David."

Such is the narration which has excited the choler of our theologians. In reply they cite Jewish authors of that age to corroborate the divine prediction that the Jews should for their sins be deprived of a national government[1]; but

[1] Such as the comments on Hosea iii. 4. "For the children of Israel shall abide many days without a king and without a prince," with its Chaldee paraphrase, "Many days shall the Israelites remain without a king of the family of David, neither shall there be any Israelite to exercise dominion." 1. R. Kimhhi—"These

here is only mentioned a spiritual jurisdiction, a kind of popedom without its royalty, for R. Benjamin expressly asserts that the Prince [or head] of the Captivity was a vassal of the caliph, from whom he received his investiture.

It is certain that for ages the rabbinical influence of this chief had been as extensive as it is here described; but the opponents of the book will not concede that his authority was ever accompanied with so much external pomp as the traveller affirms to be used, still less at so late a date as A.D. 1160. But whatever indulgence the Jews may have experienced under the Abbasside dynasty, it is not at any period inconsistent with the despot-

are the days of exile in which we now are, we have neither a king, nor prince in Israel, but we are in the dominion of the Gentiles, and of their princes and kings." 2. Maimonides, quoting Bava Kama of the second or third century—"It is one of the fundamental principles of our law, not to inflict the penalty of wounds in Babylon, and to restrict that jurisdiction to the land of Israel alone." [But our author does not say that the Jews inflicted this penalty in Bagdad.] 3. Abarbanel, writing two centuries and a half later—"Moreover he remembers the third degree of the misery of exile, that the Israelites should have neither kingdom, nor dominion, nor judicial sceptre." 4. "The Branch of David," later still, describes the condition of the oriental Jews as very humiliating. But all these citations would, if they bear on this subject at all, just as well prove that there never was a Prince of the Captivity, as that there was none in the twelfth century.

ism and slavery of Persia, where every honorary distinction is venal, that a supremacy not interfering with that of the Commander of the Faithful, and sustained by its own strength to its own extent, might be perpetuated for money, and that sundry marks of dignity might be tolerated, which to the chief Jew would be all in all, and prove no detriment to the Mussulmaun. The ceremonial procession, according to this book, seems quite agreeable to the accounts of European travellers to Persia in our days. Every man of official rank approaching the court is preceded by *shatirs* or running footmen, shouting his title with the most fulsome compliments and extravagant adulation, bestowing at the same time a shower of blows with their sticks upon the thronging populace, merely to show their activity in the great man's service. On extraordinary occasions the Persians form a brilliant cavalcade, have an accompaniment of noisy music, and have sugar thrown under the horse's feet of the principal personage as he passes[1]; the flogging of the crowd and the lavish praises from the *shatirs* always keeping due proportion to his dignity. It appears, therefore, that if the true Oriental customs had been better understood by these learned controversialists, we should

[1] Hajji Baba.

have been spared a large mass of Hebrew and Latin under which they thought to crush R. Benjamin in that portion of his book which seemed the most open to attack.

The great possessions of the Prince of the Captivity are not incredible for a dynasty (of its kind) which we know to have subsisted at least eleven centuries; and the tribute collected at the fairs may have been a toll exclusively on his own nation. The European patriarch, in the decline of the Roman empire, enjoyed a jurisdiction and revenue quite as ample as this. And thus it becomes idle to fear that the Bible will be invalidated by our Rabbi's report of Bagdad, or by the rule of the Western patriarchate, or by the partial royalty of the Cozarim.

In sum, the traveller had evidently but one object in view: to this he generally adhered with Hebraic plainness; and whenever he stepped aside to mention events belonging to Gentile history (as at Rome, Nineveh, &c.), he was quite as ill-informed as any Christian traveller of that age would have been, and as credulous to recount, as facts, the legends which were told to him for facts. His translators have not sufficiently borne in mind that they were dealing with a work, not of the sixteenth, seventeenth, or eighteenth, but of the twelfth century.

It is to be regretted that Rashi and Aben Ezra have not furnished us with itineraries of the same period, in addition to this of R. Benjamin of Tudela.

CHAPTER XVI.

LITERATURE OF THE SPANISH JEWS.

THE age of Maimonides, Aben Ezra, and Kimhhi, is remarkable as forming a crisis in Jewish learning and Rabbinical religion; and this seems a convenient place for examining each of these more fully than can be done in the course of narrating events.

The people had possessed an order of learned men for uncounted past ages, with a literature only exceeded *in bulk* by that of the associated countries of Christendom regarded as one body; and the Talmud says, "Every one that is bound to learn, is bound to teach." Therefore every occurring period must be under a considerable influence of by-gone time; but, according to the uniform experience of mankind, there was required a national preparation of some centuries to obtain its greatest scholars.

A large proportion of their literature consists,

as might be expected, of comments on Scripture, elucidations of the Talmud, and legal decisions. To a people under the peculiar dispensation to which they believed themselves still subject, these must and ought to form the body of their learning. The errors of their fundamental doctrines were still perpetuated, but their religious writings between the seventh and the thirteenth centuries displayed a degree of research and talent far superior to those of the Christian Church of the same period.

They were particularly distinguished by their attention to grammatical improvement of language for its own sake; no people have ever surpassed the Spanish Jews in the refinement of their grammars, the accuracy of their lexicons, or the perfection manifest in their standard editions of esteemed books.

Hebrew literature has at all times maintained a rigid gravity, as if the talent of language were a donation which involves too deep a responsibility in its use to be in any wise trifled with; and as if the very alphabet which God condescended to employ upon the tables of stone were a benefit too sacred for levity to approach. Most Asiatic nations are sober in their discourse, but pre-eminently so the Jews: they were a serious people when at home, and their later writers

have constantly abstained from topics which do not, in their opinion, lead to happiness here and hereafter. In this we see a wide contrast to the prevalent habits of Christendom. The Jews were ever a reading and a writing people, but their books have no enervating tendency. Fairies, ghosts, genii, and that disregard of heavenly providence and struggling virtue which forms the staple of modern novels, are all unknown within the pale of the Hebrew alphabet. True it is, that grievous mistakes and follies have found their way into Jewish writings, but they were believed by their authors to be serious truth. When they trifled with the Bible, they were gravely deluded; and when they touched upon unearthly contemplations, their objects were burning seraphs and ministering angels.

The inherent spirit of Hebrew instruction is that of all Eastern people, didactic from father to son, from teacher to pupil; not inquisitive, which is the characteristic feature of the old Grecian, and of the modern inductive wisdom—looking ever backwards, it hangs upon the past. Whatever earlier sages have written on the mind, or morals, or divine worship, must be the best; so that a comprehensive recollection of proverbs, adages, and poems, supplies the place of individual research. This arises from the patriarchal reve-

rence for age, and the preponderance which all Orientals assign to speculative over ratiocinative studies [1]; yet it is certain that since the sealing of prophecy, and their mingling with the nations at large, there has been no time in which there were not Jews equal to the Gentiles of their respective centuries in the practical business of life, and what are called utilitarian sciences: in these they have often led the way, for long before the birth of the Baconian aphorism, "Knowledge is power," they had read in their sacred text that "a wise man is strong [2]," and had proved its veracity.

In history there have been Judaic Chronicles compiled in the fifteenth century, but there has never been a repetition of Josephus: yet what

[1] "It is the distinction of the Asiatic to meditate, as to reason and to act is the glory of the European. To withdraw the soul from the senses, to divorce the exterior from the inner man, to detain the spirit within its own circle, and to accustom it there to find its bliss; to penetrate the depths and concealments of the heart, to repose during lengthened periods upon a single idea, without a wish for progression or change, or to break away from the imperfections of the visible world; to climb the infinite, to hold converse with supernal beauty and excellence: these are the prerogatives and pleasures of the intellectualist of Asia; and this is a happiness which he enjoys in a perfection altogether unknown to the busy, nervous, and frigid people of the north."

(Natural History of Enthusiasm.)

[2] Proverbs xxiv. 5. גֶּבֶר חָכָם

had Jews to relate but that very monotony of suffering which particularly deadens the intellect and fancy? How long subjected to the ever-gnawing vulture upon the rock? During, indeed, the Arabic dominion they had some breathing-time, but historical compilation appears to have been scarcely thought of by any people in the feudal ages. Besides, they felt that they were aliens; and, buoyed up by the hope of a speedy restoration, the Jews seem to have regarded their temporary expatriation as scarcely worth recording.

In the composition of poetry an epic is certainly unknown; but they excelled in the rhythmical verse by which the Arabs enchanted their neighbours—only applied to sacred and noble themes. They superadded the use of metrical feet in their poetry, and we may conclude favourably for their endeavours, from the facts—1st. That their poets were numerous, and held in high consideration. 2d. That they were stimulated by the vicinity of the Arabs, with whom they kept up a competition.

How have the Jews conferred benefits on Europe in general by their studies? At a time when the Greek language and its whole valuable literature lay buried to the Western nations, the Hebrews were reading in their own language several works of Aristotle, Plato, Ptolemy, Apol-

lonius, Hippocrates, Galen, and Euclid, derived from the Arabic of the Moors who had conveyed them from Greece and Egypt[1], and in common with these they wrote upon them dissertations and controversial arguments. Hence the old classics were actively disseminated among the Latin colleges of Christendom. However, it is to be observed that neither by Jews nor Arabs were the Greek poets and historians read. The genius of Homer, Thucydides, and Xenophon, would find no sympathy in an oriental constitution of mind, or idea of political government. Pure science has in all ages thriven well beneath a despot; but not so the "Song of Harmodius," or the narrative of the Ten Thousand.

Of mathematics, the Jews held the principal chairs in the Mohammedan colleges of Cordova and Seville[2]; but, unlike the latter people, they

[1] The earliest caliphs had done all they could to abolish the Greek language, but Almansur, the second of the Abbassides, had all the Greek books he could procure rendered into Syriac, the vernacular tongue of Bagdad, by Christian scholars. His successor, Hároun-er-Rashid, continued this good work; and the next caliph, Al-mamon, had them further translated into Arabic by two Christian Arabs, converts from the Mohammedans, viz., John Mesué, of Damascus, and Honain ben Isaac. The whole line of the Abbassides gave their patronage to the writings of the Greeks, 'that wise nation.' In Spain, the Arab Averroes devoted his life to a Comment on Aristotle.

[2] Retrospective Review, iii. 208.

brought themselves into contact with Christian society, and spreading themselves into various countries, they taught the geometry, the algebra, the logic, and the chemistry of Spain in the universities of Oxford and Paris, while Christian students from all parts of Europe repaired to Andalusia for such instruction [1].

And then astronomy, the Chaldean science. In this they were teachers of the Moors. When the Gaonim left the Euphrates for the Guadalquivir, or Moses bar Maimon removed thence to Cairo, each of these Jews had as bright a firmament to survey, "with all its numbered stars," as had their prophet Daniel in Babylon, where he was "Master of the astrologers and Chaldeans," with the tower of Nimrod for his observatory. That in such climates, where the planets, brimful of brilliance, seem running over with excess, the Jews could neglect their contemplation, is an incredible supposition and false in fact:—"God said, Let them be for signs and for seasons"—this is found in the first page of the Hebrew Scriptures; and we are assured by themselves that at no time have they neglected the admonition.

[1] Sarmiento, Obras posthumas, vol. i. Among these may be mentioned, Abelard, an English monk in the reign of Henry I., David Morley, of Norfolk, a student of both Oxford and Paris, and the famous Gerbert, afterwards Pope Sylvester II.

Hereditary astronomers, they pretended to hold traditional secrets brought by Abraham from the land of Hharran, and they appealed to the Hebrew names of constellations in the books of Job and Amos for the antiquity of their observations.

The Judæo-Spanish astronomical system was substantially that of Ptolemy; not the simple and far more accurate principles, recognized in the Biblical ages, by which their annual festivals were so surely fixed as to bring the Passover and feast of weeks ever to the same points of the annual orbit without the least advance or retrogression from the days of Exodus to the Roman dispersion; principles which, prior to the fall of the first Temple, must have been independent of Babylonish contact: but, however, must have been corroborated by that event, as Daniel was chief astronomer in Chaldæa when Pythagoras arrived to pick up the science of the East, and whence he carried to Europe the doctrine of a heliocentric system, and daily rotation on the axis of the globe; and when Alexander took Babylon, he found there computations of eclipses, past and future, recorded of many centuries. That Arab writing, the book of Job, was incorporated with the canonical Bible long before the connection with Chaldea, and bears within it the remarkable passage, "He stretcheth out the north over the

empty place, and hangeth the earth upon nothing[1]." And Josephus asserts that the patriarchs enjoyed longevity for the express purpose of witnessing the fulfilment of the grand year of six hundred years, by which it is supposed he meant the period in which the sun and moon recur to the same point relative to each other as at its commencement[2].

One thing is incontrovertible, that no Jew was ever so insane as to speak of astronomical contingencies being possible "without the hypothesis of a Deity[3]." As a contrast to so detestable a stretch of mental abstraction, the following passage will give a fair average specimen of the sentiments which pervade the Judaic astronomy; but the expression of which feelings, however they

[1] Job xxvi. 7.

[2] "This period," says Cassini, "whereof we find no intimation in any monument by any other nation, is the finest period that ever was invented; for it brings out the solar year more exactly than that of Hipparchus and Ptolemy, and the lunar year within about one second of what is determined by modern astronomers. If the antediluvians had such a period of six hundred years, they must have known the motions of the sun and moon more exactly than their descendants knew them some ages after the flood." (Encycl. Britannica.) It seems to have been known to Josephus and the astronomers of his time; yet it is not to be supposed that the people at large understood the solar system as did the learned, for the tenor of Scripture would show the contrary.

[3] Laplace, in presence of Napoleon.

may be recognised, is not to be met in scientific works of the nineteenth century. "Preface [1].—In the name of the Lord God is summed up the beginning of every thing. It is written, 'O Lord, our Lord, how wonderful is thy name in all the earth, who hast set up thyself above the heavens.' Abraham said, the son of R. Hhaiim Sephardi (may his repose be in Paradise!), 'Blessed be the God of Israel, the great and terrible God, the God of strength and beauty, who ruleth in his own name throughout the earth, &c.' And I pray and implore Him who bringeth help to the needy, and strengtheneth the weak, that He will direct me in the right way in which I should walk; and that He will afford to me, and to all who fear Him as I do, the fulfilment of what is written, 'I will cause thee to understand, and will provide thee light in the way in which thou shouldst walk, and will keep my eyes upon thee with counsel, &c.' And may He hear my cry, according to His loving-kindness, and fulfil my petition, since all things are in His power, neither is there any god beside Him. Praised and glorious be His name for ever. I will now begin the business of this work, and say, Astronomy is divided into two parts," &c. &c.

[1] "Sphere of the World," by R. Abr. Hhaiim.

But rabbinical astronomers transgressed the legitimate bounds of experience and deduction from facts, or arithmetical calculations. By mingling rapturous feelings and Oriental fancies with this wildering yet rigid study, they strayed into Astrology: and probably there are few who really love to gaze upon those lights "which are a beauty and a mystery," but have felt a strange witchery in the unearthly contemplation.

> "————Tell me, ye shining hosts
> That navigate a sea which knows no storms,
> Beneath a vault unsullied by a cloud!"

exclaims the affectionate poet in quest of sympathy for his tenderness: and far more than he might the Israelite in Shinar, Judæa, Memphis, or Cordova, indulge in that "mental voluptuousness which is a product of mind almost as proper to Asia, as are the aromatics of Arabia, or the spices of India[1]."

In Chaldæa, the Jews had witnessed a wealthy and pompous priesthood professing this pseudo-science as the most venerated arcana of religious revelation. Having acquired a knowledge of its mysterious lore, the Talmud invested it with a Judaic character[2]: and from the influence which

[1] Nat. Hist. Enthusiasm.

[2] It is strange that neither in the New Testament, nor in Jose-

they found its practice to afford them in succeeding ages, by a well-known process of the mind, its professors became dupes of their own imposture: and combining with it, as they did, some really useful science, high moral reputation, abstinence from common indulgences, retirement from the busy pursuits of life, and a glowing phraseology in their books: this mysticism possessed a charm nearly irresistible to a people of ardent temperament, in the time preceding the Baconian inductive philosophy[1]. Theirs was not the degrading superstition which it is often misrepresented to have been. "To make every event depend upon the twinkling of a star, is an absurdity equal to that of the Lapland witches, who regulate the course of the winds by tying knots in a string[2]." This is true, and may perhaps be applied to Kepler, usually denominated the founder of modern astronomy, for he believed, that "the stars act upon terrestrial things in the same manner as light acts upon the eye, sound upon the ear, or heat and cold upon the sense and feeling." Such, however,

phus, can be found any allusions to astrology, although it must have been derived from Babylon, and is so strongly sanctioned in the Talmud of the second, third, and fourth centuries.

[1] St. Augustine and Melancthon in early life, and Kepler amid all his philosophy, are names enrolled upon the side of astrology.

[2] Bonnycastle's Astronomy.

was not the astrology of the Jewish star-gazers: the question with them, was,— Has, or has not, the Almighty arranged his providence of events consentaneously with certain revolutions of the planets? Their calculations were strictly mathematical, not depending on "the twinkling of a star," but upon the orbits and exact progression of stars which never twinkle. Nor did this at all invalidate the belief of God's universal government; for their system was dignified by the sublimity of His predestination, and the ministry of mighty angels. Thus the words of Luke xxi. 26, would, if believed, be understood literally by them. It was a charming sophism, totally unwarranted by Holy Scripture and experience, and in the mind of a modern European, unfounded as a dream, but it need not be made contemptible.

The ascendancy of Aristotle in the theological discipline of Christendom from the eleventh to the sixteenth centuries, when corrupted into what was termed the scholastic philosophy, the only path to abbacies, bishoprics, scarlet hats, and popedoms, and showering upon its champions the titles of Most Profound, Most Subtle, Most Resolute, Most Wonderful, Angelic, and Seraphic—proved too infectious for the Jews and Moors to escape it, by whom the Stagyrite had been at first introduced to Europe. But these never carried the

Aristotelomania to such excess as did the Latin colleges: never split themselves into Rationalists, Nominalists, Realists, Sciolists, Occamites, or Aquinasites. They read and loved the acumen of the Grecian, but never called in his aid to mend or establish their religious creed; besides, that in other matters their quibbles of logic would always be modified by their mathematical studies, in which the Christians were contentedly inferiors, but which two pursuits have never yet been made to harmonize.

How to unite the deference for Aristotle with the old jealousy of Greek philosophy, was a curious Cordovese problem: but solved with the fiction that he had got his instruction from the high priest of Jerusalem, Simeon the Just: or, as some said, that he was a Hebrew, of the family of Koliah, of the tribe of Benjamin. The Jews however, adapted rather the spirit of these dialectics to their own system, than became express disciples; and the mischievous effect of the subtleties and logomachies thus engendered is far from extinct at the present day, though rapidly yielding to the practical reasoning which a contact with Protestant freedom of thought, and the opening to them of the German universities, has to some extent placed within their reach.

But, mingle as they might in commerce and

science with Christian people, the Israelites yet dwelt much alone: and the world has never witnessed a more surprising example of uncombining contiguity for so long a period as these have exhibited. Christendom was usually not more surprised than vexed to find a shrewd people, descendants of the authors of the Bible, to differ so widely from them in the predisposition for consideration of matters important to both parties. In literature and general customs, almost as much as in religion, each looked at the same objects from different distances, and at different angles. What appeared a circular disk to one, was an oval to the other, or even a narrow line, yet that object might be really a disk notwithstanding. And, thus arose a frequent discovery of how small was the community of sentiment between them. This was mainly attributable (omitting religious considerations) to—1. Their national genius. How a nation's constitution of mind may be formed by trials of peculiar circumstances, and by surrounding impressions, is a very interesting subject of speculation. The contrast of the effeminate, fluent, and insincere Persian, with the Red American Indian, in his taciturnity and endurance of pain, will present the very antipodes to each other: and to trace the divarication of these two conditions from a patriarchal original

of both, would be a study replete with intellectual pleasure: but, not more so than to pursue the gradual development or mutation of the Hebraic mind since the passage of the Red Sea, up to the present moment. 2. Their Asiatic origin, which indeed is an element in the other concurrence of causes. The links are clearly to be traced from the jurisprudence, learning, and superstitions of old Rome, to those of modern Europe; modified however by Christian institutions, more or less, according as these can, or are allowed to come into exercise. But, just as is the connection between the Roman discipline and sentiments, and such as yet linger on continental Europe; so was the connection of Judaism, in our middle ages, with the deep antiquity and ardent Orientalism of Egypt and Chaldæa. The two forms of mental disposition were as discordant as can well be imagined, and their tendencies (exhibited among other ways in the popular customs) were as much misplaced as the Phœnician wailings of the native Irish when heard in the squalid lanes of our cities, or as would be a Hindoo offering of flowers upon the stream of the Thames.

In Spain as elsewhere, the Hebrew libraries were frequently condemned to public flames by ecclesiastical edict: but still the books were multiplied, from an innate sense of the elevation

which literature bestows on a people, and they aimed at supporting the reputation of their fathers. That contempt and oppression will excite a people to attain a superiority of knowledge, (which is power) is disproved by the example of the poor Copts in Egypt. Their effort was not the direct result of comparative tranquillity enjoyed under the Mohammedan government, for if ease and repose could create a literature, why are the islanders of the Pacific ocean without it? Nor does it seem to be the necessary consequence of mercantile habits, since no such effects have been produced by the commercial spirit of Tyre and Carthage. Peace may foster, and wealth may patronize learning, as in Florence and Holland: but they cannot create it; only the vitality which existed elsewhere, will be attracted to, and thrive by the favour of sunshine. With the Jews it bore transplantation like the palm from Asia, and in Spain both the Hebrew and Arabic writings became numerous, varied, and ponderous. The original impulse given to the Jews by the consciousness of being the first possessors of a written law, has been so deeply fixed, as never to have deserted them under the severest privations. With all the disadvantage of rabbinism, they still prized the books of the Bible above all worldly treasures: and although it has long been the

fashion of Christian scholars, (better versed in Latin decretals, or in the writings of Greek and Latin heathens, than in the language of Moses and the Prophets) to despise the literature of the rabbis with which they are generally unacquainted, or merely to pick out passages for the purpose of controversy: yet those who are competent to judge their works as a literature, are the most ready to acknowledge that these have been exceedingly underrated. The great influence which Jews obtained, despite a universal jealousy, will testify to the amount of their book-learning, more distinctly than declamatory assertions can do for or against it.

CHAPTER XVII.

ON THE CABALA AND TALMUD.

THE last chapter refers to studies which the Jews shared in common with the rest of the world. But the Cabala and Talmud pertain to themselves exclusively[1], forming as the latter especially does, a constituent part of that deteriorated religion, rabbinical Judaism.

It commonly occurs, that when a Christian scholar presses hard some text of Hebrew Scripture, in argument with a Jew; the latter, rather than surrender his point, yet preserving the authority of the Bible entire, will exclaim that the words are to be interpreted by Cabala, and are

[1] The Arabs however had a spurious Cabala, and examples of each sort may be seen in Kircher's Œdipus Ægyptiacus, vol. ii. classes 4, 5.

therefore unintelligible to such as are not initiated[1]. What then is Cabala? It is an esoteric doctrine, or mode of explaining Scripture, known but to few, and was at first inculcated under the severest anathema in case of divulgation. It is believed to comprise the most profound arcana of angelic science. Antecedent to the Mosaic Law, it was communicated to Adam in Paradise by the angel Rasiel; and when other angels requested to learn from him these secrets, he refused to gratify their desire. After the Fall, the Cabala was known only in the higher courts of heaven, until at the offender's tears of repentance, it was revealed to him again. Adam instructed Seth, but in the interval from Seth to Abraham it was lost, and the "father of the faithful" committed it to writing in the book "Jetsirah." It was imparted to Moses along with the oral law. Again lost during the seventy years captivity, but recommunicated to Ezra; and since his days, the greatest doctors in its profundity have been R. Simeon ben Johhai, and R. Akiba, who lived soon after the fall of the second temple. To the latter of these, it is said, that the Lord revealed what he had not declared unto Moses. The former was author of "Zohar," which, like another book since

[1] Enfield's Hist. of Philosophy, and Gale's Court of the Gentiles, part iii. book i. ch. 4.

published in Arabia, was written in a cave, and delivered in occasional chapters. In our middle ages the most elaborate Cabalists were Aben Ezra and Moses bar Nahhman.

Cabala may be viewed as:—1. Theoretical; 2. Ænigmatical; and, 3. Practical.

Theoretical: a system of the most visionary fanaticism, no doubt attractive to a certain state of mind, but wholly irreconcileable with the written doctrine of God, and His relation to mankind. Being a compound of the Magian Mithras, or essential fire, under the name of En-Soph, with the Gnostic Æons, under the name of Sephiroth or Splendours, and the Pantheistic axiom, "that nothing proceeds from nothing[1]," it is evidently not of Hebrew origin, but in all likelihood a fascinating corruption imported to Palestine from Alexandria, when the Jews were nearly as numerous, free, and wealthy in Egypt, i. e. under the Ptolemies, as in the Holy Land; and would be thus, one of the forms of a wide-spread Asiatic mysticism which has also entered deeply into the doctrines of Orpheus, of Plato, of Pythagoras, of Philo[2], and of Origen. This Cabala has been

[1] "Jupiter est *quodcumque vides*, quocumque moveris."

[2] It was said in Alexandria, that either Philo Platonized, or Plato Philonized. These fanciful Jews, and Gnostic Christians,

variously modified by concomitant circumstances and diversified stages of learning, especially by the Aristotelian Scholastics, and would perhaps have passed entirely away from Europe, but for the frequent invigoration which it received in Spain from Babylon. The study is a purely passive meditation, capable of amusing an Atheist, referring to nothing of a moral nature, as righteousness, guilt, &c. and leading to no love for God or man. It is not, therefore, that which "angels desire to look into," nor a doctrine of Abraham, Ezra, or Elijah, and cannot have come from heaven. Some rabbis (as Manasseh ben Israel, Solomon ben Virga, and others) have believed that the prophets of the Bible acquired their capacity for predicting events, and the interpretation of dreams (as Joseph and Daniel) from the depths of their penetration into Cabalistic and natural science: and, moreover, that the same degree of application would produce the same effects now as then. They lament their own deficiency, which arises from the harassing cares peculiar to a state of dispersion: comparing the ancient extent of such sciences to a blaze of fire for en-

are referred to in the Epistles to Timothy, but the only קבלה or ἀποδοχή, for a New-Testament Christian, is described in 1 Tim. i. 15.—(Gale's Court of the Gentiles.)

lightening the world; and the modern attempts, to the striking of a flint and steel, by which means a few sparks are elicited, some of which fly upwards, and are lost in the air, but others fall to the ground and are speedily extinguished [1].

Ænigmatic Cabala treats of secret potencies ascribed to letters of the alphabet in Holy Scripture, symbolical or effective according to their positions or combinations; a wicked trifling with God's Word, by degrading it to a level with the Runic witchcraft; for as the chaunt of a Norse Saga was believed to be able to arrest the course of a ship at sea, or an arrow in its flight, so the Cabalistic rabbis affirm, that when "a wave is going to overwhelm a ship, sparkles of white light are seen on its head. But if we smite it with a staff on which are written the words, 'I am that I am, Jah, Lord of Hosts, Amen, Amen, Selah,' it subsides [2]."

They also prescribe amulets, charms, and invocation of demons. But it is to be observed that the Runic impostures had their origin in a time of prevailing darkness; whereas the Cabala is inexcusable as a perversion of actual light into darkness.

[1] "Sceptre of Judah."

[2] Bava Bathra, fol. 73. 1. apud "Old Paths," p. 99.

Practical Cabala is Magic. "Rabba created a man and sent him to R. Zira: he spoke with him, but when the other did not answer, he said, 'Thou art from the magicians—return to thy dust.' Rav Hhanina and Rav Oshia used to sit every Sabbath eve, and study the book Jetsirah, and create for themselves a three-year-old calf, and eat it[1]." In the "Sceptre of Judah" we are told, that when in the fifteenth century a Christian child had been killed, and placed in the house of a Jew in order to give pretext for a persecution of that people, the end was defeated by R. Solomon the Levite, who resuscitated the child by placing under his tongue the ineffable name of God, and caused him to declare the names of his murderers. Another miracle was reported as wrought by R. Judah ben Virga of Seville; by which three monkish accusers of the Jews were exposed, and their whole scheme portrayed on a sheet of parchment folded in the prince's bosom. The masters of this extent of Cabalistic power were styled "Baalé Shem," because their feats were accomplished by invoking certain combinations of the mysterious name of God[2].

[1] Sanhedrim, fol. 65. 2. apud "Old Paths," p. 103.

[2] To this mode of operation the Jews refer all the miracles of our Lord Jesus.

The effect of this pretended science was to enhance the reverence of the vulgar for the cheats who ruled them, and to amuse the dotards who devoted many years to its pursuit. There have been sincere votaries to the delusion; for an Asiatic mind in a luxurious climate would revel in its mysteries; but to the soul it must prove a fatal opiate. It was enthusiasm of the most worthless character, an inflammation of the mere imagination, to the hardening of the heart. We have had indeed, enthusiasts under the Christian name; but the mysticism of Guyon, &c. would at least ameliorate the affections, and as far as it extended, combined much that was truly sublime. Was there ever a martyr to Cabala?

The Talmud, that fruitful subject of controversy. It would be out of place here to enter upon its theological merits. We have already[1] traced its history, but it would be useful to inspect a little into its literary character, and its influence upon social life.

The Talmud is plainly separable into the *Dinim*, or judicial decisions, and the *Agadoth*, or legends and conversations. And the celebrated preface by R. Samuel Naghid pronounces explicitly: "It is necessary to be observed, that all the *decisions*

[1] Page 48.

on the ritual observances, declared by our wise men, as handed down to us by Moses, who received them from the mouth of God, may not be increased nor diminished. But inferences drawn from passages of Scripture, as they happen to offer themselves to the mind and penetration of the various expositors, are merely received where they agree with our individual views: but the rest have no authority." This seems fair enough, but is unhappily contradicted by the Talmud itself; and although the latter half of this quotation must allude to the whole of the Talmud exclusive of the *decisions*, the description accords so little with the reality as to defy recognition *per se*.

One of the latest champions of the Talmud [1] has said truly, that besides the decisions, "that immense compilation" contains "historical and biographical notices, legends, astronomy according to the then prevailing system, sympathetic medicine, aphorisms, parables, apologues, sermons, ethics, and rules of practical wisdom." These are the Agadoth. Passing by, therefore, the Dinim, and the theological points, we have remaining, "a congest of various materials, which neither in the shape it now bears, neither in their worth nor in their contents, have any affinity;" and this

[1] Hebrew Review, No. 1.

special pleading is concluded with, "The worst that can be said, is, that the compilers may not have displayed so correct a taste in their selection, as compilers of the present day would not fail to do[1]."

Yet, Christian scholars regard the collection of Agadoth as one of the most trashy and cumbrous impositions that ever depraved a nation's intellect, or undermined their moral principles, not superior, if equal to the Koran, and only one step above the legends of Hindoo Brahmins; containing indeed a few spangles of gold, the relics of a purer tradition, but the greater part being of base metal and encrusted with a poisonous oxide. It may be freely conceded that Northern Europeans, in the bustling nineteenth century, are in many ways unable to feel the spirit which pervades the Mishna and Gemara[2]: we have not the same habitual associations of climate, customs, language, and condition of the civilized arts; but were the Talmud a fit associate of the Bible, we should perceive its beauties and useful tendency with infinitely greater ease than we do.

[1] Hebrew Review.

[2] So Oriental is the Talmud, that the Jews read it in a chaunt, like the prayers, and as the Hindoos and Mohammedans read their sacred books.

This pseudo-sacred book relates, with the utmost gravity, such fictions as appear written only from a childish exuberance of ridiculous invention. R. Siphré says, "Once when I was in a ship, we saw a fish with elegant horns, and upon them this inscription, 'I am a very small specimen of the creatures that inhabit the deep.' This fish measured three hundred leagues, but was swallowed up in one mouthful by leviathan."

"Bar Juchné is a bird whose extended wings invariably occasion total eclipses of the sun. Once a choice egg fell from her nest, and destroyed three hundred and fifteen noble cedars, and inundated sixty-nine populous villages." "They that go down to the sea have told me, that the distance between one wave and another is three hundred miles. It happened once, that we were making a voyage, and we raised a wave until we saw the resting-place of the least of all the stars. It was large enough to sow forty bushels of mustard-seed, and if we raised it more we should have been burned by the vapour of the star." Rabbah bar Bar Hhanna says, "Once upon a time we were sailing in a ship, and we saw that fish upon whose back the sand remains, and the rushes grow: we thought it was dry land, and landed, and remained there, and cooked. But when the fish's back grew warm he turned round,

and if the ship had not been near we must have been drowned."

Besides such tales as these, the Agadoth hold out an expectation of a banquet in the life to come upon the salted leviathan and behemoth, the latter of which devours daily a thousand hills, (Ps. l. 10.) with other legends; "the worth of which," says the Hebrew Review, "is as yet undiscovered." They likewise gossip with peculiar unction upon dreams, amulets, astrology, dæmonology, and drunkenness at the feast of Purim, till the devout Israelite shall be unable to distinguish between "Cursed is Haman, and Blessed is Mordecai."

Modern Jews assure the Christians, that all such things are to be understood figuratively. "The later rabbis, impressed with the conviction that their earlier predecessors, endued with the highest wisdom, could not have said any thing contrary to its dictates; have generally assigned a secret or allegorical meaning to these startling passages, and by endeavouring to dive into their hidden sense, have succeeded in giving a most sublime meaning to passages apparently the most incongruous[1]." Thus the "Sceptre of Judah" describes a conversation on this subject, between

[1] Hebrew Review.

king Alonso and a certain rabbi. The former said, "I have heard you cite from the Talmud at a former conference, that there was a frog as large as sixty houses: but it was swallowed up by a serpent; this again was devoured by a crow, which flew up with it into a tree. Again, that a piece of iron fell into the sea, and was seven years reaching the bottom. Again, that a man saw the sea with such monstrous billows, as to have intervals of three hundred miles." The Jew replied: "Some of our learned men tell us, that the ancients used to sing on musical instruments the morals of life; but that our fathers, being unskilled in music, used to instruct by festive narrations and fictitious imagery: these two modes are referred to in Psalm xlix. 4. 'I will incline mine ear unto a parable: I will open my dark saying upon the harp.'

"This fable of the frog denotes the science of natural history, which celebrates the divine workmanship with a loud and sonorous voice; the size of sixty houses, are the sixty parts of nature: the serpent devouring the frog, is astronomy, on account of its circles, &c. The crow is theology, according to Canticles i. 5. 'I am black, but comely.' The tree is the law, with its many branches. So the fable of the billows signifies

the vast desires of human nature, which have neither bound nor measure. The fable of the iron falling into the sea denotes the human mind, which resembles iron in its capacity for sharpness: the seven years are the seven liberal sciences, which the most acute perception cannot sound in a whole life."

Such then are the "sublime meanings given to passages apparently the most incongruous." But is there any absurdity of any pagan superstition that could not be, and is not, glossed in the same manner by its priesthood, as soon as the daylight of Christianity brings them into notice? However, it must be acknowledged that parts of the Agadoth are capable of some such interpretation; for example: after the waves with intervals of three hundred miles, there immediately follows:—"One wave raised its voice, and called to its companion, Hast thou left any thing in the world which thou hast not overflowed? Come and let us destroy it. But it replied, Come and see the power of thy Lord, I could not overpass the sand one hair's-breadth; for it is written, 'Fear ye not me, saith the Lord? will ye not tremble at my presence, which have placed the sand for the bound of the sea, by a perpetual decree, that it cannot pass it?'" (Jer. v. 22.) This is clearly parabolical, but the prior part, about the reaching the resting-place of

the stars, is as clearly not so. And a people must be mentally enfeebled, and on the high road to ruin, when it admires the bearded sages for delivering such wisdom as the best of this.

There are some portions of the Agadoth, consisting of conversational guesses at great truths, which bear peculiar interest, considering the circumstances of their occurrence. "Tradition of the school of Elias.—The world subsists for six thousand years: two thousand in confusion: two thousand for the law; and two thousand for the days of Messiah. But, on account of our sins which are multiplied, there are excepted from them such years as shall be excepted. Elias said to R. Jehudah, brother of R. Salah the pious, 'The world will not subsist less than eighty-five jubilees, and in the last jubilee will come the Son of David.' To which he replied, 'At the beginning, or at the end?' He said, 'I know not.' 'At the end, or just before the end?' 'I cannot tell.' Raf Ashé says, that he answered: 'Up to that time do not expect him, but thenceforward you may expect him[1].' "

"Raf said, 'The world was created solely on account of David.' Samuel replied, 'On account

[1] Does not this vague and undecided teaching by the highest authorities living about the time of our Saviour, explain the words of Matth. vii. 28, 29?

of Moses.' R. Johanan said, 'On account of Messiah. What is his name?' They of the school of R. Silas said, 'Shiloh is his name, for it is said, 'till Shiloh come.'' Those of the school of R. Jannai said, 'Jinnom (or continuation) is his name, for it is written, 'His name shall be for ever, before the sun his name shall be Jinnom.'' (Ps. lxxii.) Those of the school of R. Hhanina said, 'his name will be Hhanina, as it is said, 'I will not show you Hhanina,' (i.e. favour or grace. Jer. xvi. 13.)' And some do say that his name will be Menahhem (the Comforter), son of Hezekiah: as it is said in Lamentations, 'Because the Comforter that should refresh my soul is far from me.' But the masters say, his name will be, The leper of the house of Rabbi, for it is written, 'He hath borne our diseases, and carried our sorrows.'

"What is the name of King Messiah? R. Aba bar Cahana said, 'His name is, The Lord; because in Jeremiah it is written, 'And this is his name whereby he shall be called, The Lord our Righteousness.'' Then R. Levi exclaimed, 'O happy city! whose name is like that of the king, and that of her God! for it is written, 'And the name of the city from that day shall be, The Lord is there,' and the name of her king is the name of her God, as it is written, 'And this is his name whereby he shall be called, The Lord our righteousness!'

" R. Joshua, son of Levi, said, 'His name is the Branch! for we find in Zachariah, 'Behold the man whose name is the Branch, and he shall grow up out of his place.'' R. Jodan said, in the name of R. Aibu, 'His name is Menahhen, as it is said, 'The Comforter is far from me.'' R. Hhanina replied, 'This makes no difference, since the numeral value of the one is equal to that of the other; the letters, both of Branch and Comforter, denote the number 138.'"

" A history.—It happened to a man ploughing, that one of his oxen bellowed. A certain Arab was passing and said, 'Who art thou?' He replied, 'I am a Jew.' He said, 'Loose the yoke of thine ox.' He inquired wherefore? The Arab answered, 'Because the house of the Jewish sanctuary is destroyed.' 'How knewest thou this?' He said, 'I understood it from thine ox.' In loosing the ox, the animal bellowed a second time. 'Bind thine ox; bind the yoke,' said the Arab, 'for the Redeemer of the Jews is born.' He asked, 'What is his name, and what is his father's name?' 'Menahhem; and his father, Hezekiah.' 'Where do they reside?' 'In the street of Birat Arba in Bethlehem Judah.' So he sold his oxen and the yoke, and getting a stock of children's dresses for sale, he wandered through many cities and countries till he arrived there. Then came the people from the villages to buy of

him, but the mother of that child bought nothing: to whom he said, 'Why hast thou bought no dress?' She answered, 'Because the omen of my child's birth is grievous.' 'How so?' 'Because on that account the temple is overthrown.' He said, 'We trust in the Creator of the world, that though demolished on his account, the sanctuary may be rebuilt under him. But take this garment, and after some days I will come again for its price.' So she took it and went her way. After some days the man thought within himself and said, I will go and see what the child is doing. So he came and said to the mother, 'What is the child doing?' She answered, 'Did I not say that the omen of his birth was grievous? for in the same hour, the winds came, and the storms carried him away.' The Jew said, 'And I have told thee that as by him the temple had been overthrown, so by him it shall be built again.'"

(The same tale is given in another place, with this addition.) "Must we learn from an Arab that at the fall of the temple, Messiah was to be born? Is not the whole Scripture full of it? asked R. Aben. Is it not written, 'Lebanon shall fall by a mighty one?' and immediately after, 'There shall come forth a rod out of the stem of Jesse, and a branch out of his roots?'"

Such are the Agadoth, the delight of the

rabbinical Jews; upon these they lavish the most endearing epithets: "the words of the Scribes are more lovely than the words of the Law: for the words of the Law are some weighty and others light: but the words of the Scribes are all weighty." "The Law is as water; the words of the Scribes are as wine." Thus with all the folly and error the Gemara contains and engenders, "The people love to have it so; and what will ye do in the end thereof[1]?" for whatever may have been the virtuous efforts of a few superior rabbis in later times, the Talmud itself pronounces, that "those who reject the Agadoth, as did Sadok and Baithos, are deniers of the Law, and as such are condemned on account of the greatness of their wickedness and sin, for ever, even for ever and ever[2]!" This is surely one of the Decisions.

Nevertheless, Moses bar Maimon seems to have wished the whole Agadoth abolished. He wrote to R. Joseph, "Beware of wasting time in the exposition and laborious poring over the Gemara; for I have read much therein, and drawn from it but little profit[3]." And in his "Guide to the Perplexed:" "I have said in my comment on the Mishna that I would explain the parables, proverbs, and tales of the whole

[1] Jer. v. 31. [2] Hilchoth T'shuvah, iii. 8.
[3] Buxtorf.

Talmud, and I had already collected matter for doing so; but, upon reflection, I abandoned the design, and for the following reasons. If I were to explain a parable by another parable, and a proverb by another proverb, and hidden things by hidden things, I should have gained nothing; but to explain those passages as they should be for the common people, is not expedient. And if one of the many foolish rabbis reads these histories and proverbs, he will find an explanation not necessary; for to a fool every thing is right, and he finds no difficulty any where. And, if a really wise man reads them, there will be two ways in which he will consider them. If he take them in their literal sense, and think them bad, he will say, This is foolishness, and in so doing, he says nothing at all against the foundation of the faith; or, he thinks there is a mystery in them, and goes his way, thinking well of the story, but explaining or not explaining it." An argument ingenious in its vagueness, and showing the author's submission to expediency, against the conviction of what is intrinsically true and meritorious. O that he had but braved the Pharisaic excommunication (which after all he did incur), and, by the light of the written law and prophets, investigated the foundation of the Talmudic edifice! But, enlarged as was the mind

of R. Moses bar Maimon, he was still like other men, biassed by early prepossessions and habitual associations. What else than this natural disposition of man could have induced him, or such as his friends, to uphold a religion which, *if it had* an effective control, would sever the whole Jewish nation into the two castes of Rabbis and Am-haaretsin, corresponding to Brahmins and Pariahs, with license given to the former "to rend the am-haarets like a fish," and which forbids all alliance with the unlearned, "for they are an abomination, and their wives are vermin, and of their daughters it is said, 'Cursed is he that lieth with any beast[1].'" A system which has supplanted the Levites, appointed by Moses' law to be judges of the people, by a new unauthorized order, the Pharisee-rabbis. A system which degrades women to the level of children and idiots, prohibits their study of the law, makes their testimony illegal, and leaves them with no religion but three meagre ceremonies. A system which commands to convert the nations of the world by fire and sword, to obey the seven precepts of Noah; and which would tolerate no unproselyted Gentile in the holy land, "not even for an hour," and which limits the love of neighbour in the law to a benevolence towards circum-

[1] Pesachin, xlix. 2, apud "Old Paths." See John vii. 49.

cised proselytes. A system which gives dispensation for inconvenient oaths, and would countenance polygamy. A religion, if it may be so termed, which, by its excessive minuteness and sanguinary penalties, would surpass the Spanish Inquisition itself. But, thank God, the Talmud never was, and never will be exerted in unchallenged despotism. The traditions were, indeed, sufficiently oppressive when Jesus of Nazareth denounced their administrators as "binding heavy burdens, and grievous to be borne, and laying them on men's shoulders; but they themselves will not move them with one of their fingers[1];" but they were not then a formal code virtually superseding the Law of Moses. Under the dispersion (the misery of which may be fairly charged upon this false and usurped legislation in Israel) the system has acquired additional force, but has always been checked by the laws of the several countries where the Jews are sojourners, and still more by the natural feelings which will have play more or less under any rule less oppressive than a Talmudic Sanhedrin, or holy office of the Inquisition: feelings of friendliness, sympathy, or gratitude, as occasions called them into exercise. The distinction cannot be too plainly made between

[1] Matt. xxiii. 4.

the Jews and the Jewish legislation; and to say that any or every amiable sentiment of civilized humanity may find countenance in some disjointed phrase or two of the Talmud, is only to show the book to be self-contradictory, which indeed is the case, an unavoidable consequence of being a collection of numberless opinions, framed at various times, and in different circumstances [1].

Those who value the religion of the Old Testament, whether believing or not believing them to be accomplished in Jesus of Bethlehem-Judah, may find it profitable to meditate upon these following theses [2]:—

1. An authentic copy of the Talmud never existed.

2. The Talmud was never declared closed or complete.

3. The Mishna is an incomplete work.

4. The Gemara is an incomplete work.

5. The Talmud contains only a small number of traditional laws.

6. The non-traditional part of the Talmud is declared by the authors themselves to be of human invention.

[1] This remark does not allude to the ethical treatise called the "Chapters of the Fathers," but to the spirit of the Decisions.

[2] Jewish Messenger, July 1837.

7. The Jews have no priestly ordination.

8. Such ordination can and may never be introduced again.

9. No synodal decree has ever been made to be in force for ever.

10. All synodal decrees have lost their validity at the cessation of ordination.

11. The Talmudists have introduced and abrogated laws.

12. Maimonides' doctrines of faith do not agree with the Talmud.

13. The Talmud has never been obeyed in full spirit.

14. Moses has introduced no ordination in the common sense of the word.

15. Many orthodox contemporaries of the Talmudists may be looked upon as their opponents.

16. Maimonides shows himself in the "Moreh Nebuchim" an opponent of the Talmud.

17. The decisions of the rabbis respecting casuistical questions have no obligation even on the most zealous adherents of the Talmud.

18. Many ceremonial aggravations which press hard on the Jews, do not proceed from the Talmud, but from the hyper-ascetic spirit of more recent rabbis.

Could the Israelite people become generally

persuaded of these statements as true, they would soon sweep away their Talmud and its rabbis; and a Hebrew wisdom, more solemn and illustrious, would in a short time eclipse "the Traditions of the Elders" with the happiest results for this life and the next.

Meanwhile the Jews, like the Papists, are anxious to attribute the same standing to their oral law as to the common-law of England; but there is this difference to be observed:—1st. The English common-law is older than the statute-book; and, 2nd. The two constitutions "are not repugnant the one to the other;" whereas in both these points their traditions are defective, —they must be classed with the Mohammedan sunna.

These digressive chapters, on the middle-age literature of Spanish Jews, and on the peculiar religion of Jews in general, as it exists in addition to that of Moses and the prophets, may be appropriately closed with the Creed as drawn up by Moses bar Maimon, and kept in daily repetition. Reverting to the course of their history, we shall have opportunities to entertain feelings of admiration or pity, and to regret that "all are not Israel who are of Israel."

The Creed.

1. I believe with a perfect faith, that God (blessed be His name) is the Creator and Governor of all created beings; and that He alone has made, does make, and ever will make, every production.

2. I believe with a perfect faith, that the Creator (blessed be His name) is One God, and that there is no unity whatever like unto Him, and that He alone is our God, who was, is, and will be eternally.

3. I believe with a perfect faith, that the Creator (blessed be His name) is incorporeal, and that He is not subject to any of those changes that are incident to matter: and that He has not any similitude whatever.

4. I believe with a perfect faith, that the Creator (blessed be His name) is both the first and the last of all things.

5. I believe with a perfect faith, that to the Creator, (blessed be His name,) yea to Him only, is it proper to address our prayers; and that it is not proper to pray to any other being.

6. I believe with a perfect faith, that all the words of the prophets are true.

7. I believe with a perfect faith, that the prophecy of Moses our teacher (may his soul rest in peace) was true: and that he excelled all the sages that preceded him, or that may succeed him.

8. I believe with a perfect faith, that the law which we have now in our possession is the same law that was given to Moses our teacher.

9. I believe with a perfect faith, that this law will never be changed; and that the Creator (blessed be His name) will never give us another law [1].

10. I believe with a perfect faith, that the Creator (blessed be His name) knoweth all the actions and thoughts of mankind, as it is said, "He fashioneth all their hearts, and is fully acquainted with all their works."

11. I believe with a perfect faith, that the Creator (blessed be His name) rewardeth those who observe His commandments, and punisheth those who transgress them.

12. I believe with a perfect faith, that the Messiah will come; and although his coming be delayed, I will still patiently await his speedy appearance.

[1] Consequently there can be no New Testament or Covenant.

13. I believe with a perfect faith, that there will be a resurrection of the dead, at the time when it shall please the Creator. Blessed and exalted be His name for ever and ever.

CHAPTER XVIII.

EVENTS OF THE THIRTEENTH AND FOURTEENTH CENTURIES.

During this period the Jews held high offices and enjoyed great privileges in Spain. The Mohammedan dominion was decidedly on the wane; but the Christian powers, at least the political rulers, were sensible of the benefit which this people imparted to the country, not only as teachers of science, physicians, and ministers of finance, but also by the vigour they excited in foreign and domestic trade. It is true that in both of these they were much shackled: in the former, by the possession of Syria by the Turks, and by the Norman and other pirates infesting the Mediterranean; in the latter, by restrictions of the cortes, and by corporation privileges in

the towns; and thus they were to a great extent thrown upon the resource of money-lending, but with more honour than elsewhere. The rate of interest was fixed by law,—they first invented bills of exchange, and became general bankers. Their evidence was received in courts of law. They were themselves exempt from imprisonment for debt, and held considerable landed property—at one time to the amount, it has been said, of one third of the Spanish soil; and in the principal cities they exercised their own judicature, both in civil and criminal causes.

The natural effect of these immunities was seen in an elevation of character far above the level to which they were degraded in other lands; for the man who is suffered to look his fellows in the face with cheerfulness, will generally assimilate his morals to their standard, and they in return will the more esteem him[1]. The Jews however gave offence by indulging in luxurious apparel at greater cost than the Christian nobles, until a proclamation was made against Jews wearing silk robes and ornaments of gold. For some time after this, their women maintained their usual love of jewellery, on the plea that the proclamation specified Jews but not Jewesses. The Christians were no

[1] "Adeò virtutes iisdem temporibus optimè æstimantur, quibus facillimè gignuntur."—Tacit. Agricola.

less scandalized at the feasting and the pompous processions in the streets made at the frequent circumcisions. They complained also of the Jews wearing arms, which they never used in defence of the country, and of instructing their children to excel in music. It was affirmed that in Toledo they had on some occasions ventured to strike Christians, but their own rabbis interfered to check this audacity; the clergy meanwhile quoting from Scripture, "For three things the land is disquieted, and for four which it cannot bear; for a slave when he reigneth," &c.

It is said [1], that on a certain occasion, king Alonso expostulated with some of their leading men upon the extravagant habits of the people; but one of the court gave his opinion that their rich attire redounded rather to the king's honour, and was excusable in persons tracing their genealogy to king David; for let a lion be never so diseased or afflicted, he still remembers that he is a lion. This bold comparison seems not to have held good with the Jews in point of personal courage, for R. Solomon ben Virga repeatedly charges his nation of this period with effeminate timidity, which he ascribes to long habits of submission, and the being debarred

[1] "Sceptre of Judah."

from exercises of war and the chase. To prove that such a result necessarily follows from their condition, he relates, that "A certain Arab king, being informed by a philosopher that the heart becomes contracted during restraint, made this experiment:—he ordered two lion-cubs, recently born, to be enclosed in a field, one to be confined by a chain, and the other to be left free: both to be supplied with the same food. After a few years the animals were slain, and the heart of the one which had been chained, was found to be of far inferior size to that of the other [1]."

Unfortunately for the Jews, the influence of the clergy with the rabble at command, was set entirely and perseveringly against them. The Hebrew colony in Toledo alone was 12,000 strong, and wealthy of course. Roderic, the archbishop of the city, was a person of popular talents and political intrigue. An indefatigable agitator for the Crusades, his frequent harangues were so many invectives against the Jews and Moors; till, on one occasion, heading his flock, he rushed into the synagogues, routed the congregations, and pursued them to their houses for plunder.

Scarcely was this outrage perpetrated, when it

[1] "Sceptre of Judah."

was followed by a greater in the same place. In February 1212, an immense host was encamped in the royal parks on the banks of the Tagus. These were Crusaders of the West; and conceiving that the first-fruits of their valour would be an acceptable offering to heaven, if waged upon the unarmed Jews, they proceeded most religiously to plunder that race of infidels. There was no massacre, for the nobles of Castille armed themselves to defend the synagogues from foreign aggression; but the terror inspired in the victims was so great, as to cause the emigration of immense numbers. Abarbanel says[1], that more of his people deserted Spain at this time, than Moses led up from the land of Egypt; but this phrase is so often employed by the rabbis to denote merely a large number, that it need not be understood literally.

Yet they had been forewarned of some impending calamity by R. Moses de Cozzi, (of Italian family, but born in Spain,) one eminent for his erudition and talents; who had lately fulminated denunciation in every synagogue, of signal vengeance on the growing vice of taking Mohammedan wives. So great an evil aroused in him the zeal

[1] Comment on Isa. xlvi.

of Ezra, and after long perseverance he succeeded in a great degree in obtaining the dismissal of these foreigners [1].

They had likewise been visited by an enthusiast from Germany, R. Baruch ben R. Isaac Garmisa, who came to rebuke the impious innovations made by the Sephardim in the shape, or sewing, or flourishes of writing in their phylacteries [2].

In 1263, the Aragonese raised a naval armament to protect their coast against a fleet of Africans who had come to assist the Andalusian sheikhs in their revolt from Castille; and fully garrisoned Valencia, entirely from the pecuniary aid of a Jew named Jahudano, who was fiscal-general, and treasurer of the kingdom, and whom the sovereign entrusted with almost all state negociations: he was of so excellent a reputation that Zurita [3] can only regret his religion.

About 1281, while Alonso the Wise was absorbed in astronomical science, his warlike son, Don Sancho, led an expedition against the Moors, and was defeated both by sea and land at Algeziras. This unexpected incident aroused the king; but, unwilling to punish the prince, he wreaked his fury upon the Jewish receiver-general

[1] Basnage. [2] Ibid.

[3] Añales de Aragon.

of the kingdom, Don Zag de la Malea, for having furnished his son with supplies in the expedition. The Jew was hanged before the Prince's windows, and as the latter endeavoured to escape from the spectacle, he was detained there by his two brothers; yet reviling his mean-spirited semi-infidel father all the time, and swearing to revenge an insult so personal to himself. He had but too good an opportunity of doing so; for the nobles, disgusted with a studious monarch, found abundant cause of complaint, and the populace were discontented with the new laws of the "Siete Partidas." Thus the remaining three years of Alonso's life were spent by father and son in preparing for civil war.

Messiah, the unforgotten hope of Israel, was proclaimed to be at hand, by Zachariah the Levite, —a rabbi who by his austerity of life had acquired no common influence—but upon one easy condition, namely, that all the Jews in Spain should, upon one stated day, learn by heart a cabalistic charm which he had discovered in the ineffable name. Preparing themselves by fasting and almsgiving, they were to repair to the synagogues, and await his coming: but no mention was made of whether Messiah was to arrive only in Spain, or what share their Ashkenazim brethren beyond the Rhine, or the Oriental Jews, were to have in

hastening or enjoying the great Advent. As the account is related by Alfonso de Spina, a convert from Judaism to monkery long afterwards, all the Jews assembling in the synagogues were surprised to find their white garments miraculously marked with crosses; and on returning to their homes, found the linen clothes there also impressed with the same sign [1]; intended, no doubt, to instruct them that Christ was already come, and had suffered crucifixion.

Granada had always been a settled home of the Jews, and under the newly constituted kingdom, they had hitherto enjoyed repose; but in 1319, Abul Said Ismael, a tyrant to all his subjects, so especially oppressed the Jews, that great numbers of them abandoned his realm.

In April 1321, the Jews of Barcelona flew to arms, on the first day of Passover, and defended themselves against the queen's officials, the king being absent. Zurita mentions no cause of the circumstance, probably considering the simple fact as one of such atrocity as to countervail any possible degree of provocation. It may have been one of the usual Good Friday insults. There appear to have been no lives lost; but the queen Donna Maria, who had been two years ill at

[1] "Fortress of the Faith."

Tortosa, was highly incensed against the civic authorities of Barcelona for not punishing, as she commanded, the presumption of the Jews: but upon the king's arrival, he had her wishes executed, and she died in a few days afterwards.

Charles IV. of France had been king of Navarre, but died in 1327, leaving no heir male. The Navarrese, therefore, under the sanction of their republican *fueros*, were unrestrained by any efficient government, and a slaughter was made of ten thousand Jews[1] in the city of Estella alone, on the first sabbath in March (probably Passover). Many took refuge in the fortresses of St. Adrian, Funes, Marzilla, and Viana, as well as the house of Corteviento and other places; but seldom with success, for the blood-thirsty mob pursued and murdered them there. The "Sceptre of Judah" describes an event of about the same time, which seems scarcely possible to be confounded (although Basnage has done so) with the above. A rabble crusade was preached among the shepherds[2] in the South of France, by one Roar, likewise a shepherd; who gave out that he had received revelations from a dove, which changed itself into

[1] "If recollection and numerals do not err." — Mariana; Zurita, Añales de Aragon.

[2] In the twelfth century a crusade of boys was raised in France, for the East.

a beautiful virgin, charging him to extirpate the infidels, and for a token, wrote the terms of his commission (or the form of a cross, as some said,) upon his arm. Thousands flocked to the novel champion, and proposed to march immediately to Granada; but one, more prudent than the rest, represented the difficulty of overcoming well-trained and well-armed warriors, or walled towns, with an undisciplined multitude in want of arms: and was of opinion that the commission would at first be sufficiently obeyed by assaulting the Jews. This advice was adopted; and after a massacre of one hundred and twenty synagogues in Languedoc, despite the royal proclamation, the arming of the barons, and the pope's excommunication, they crossed the Pyrenees into Aragon, but were repulsed by the king with supplies brought by his son the bishop of Toulouse, just in time to rescue the city of Huesca. They marched into Navarre, entered Pamplona; but at Monreal, three leagues distant, were driven back by the Jews themselves. At length, in a general engagement with a royal army, the leader was killed, and the whole multitude dispersed. The destruction of Jewish property was in part compensated by the subscriptions of rich Jews into a common fund; but the loss of life could never be replaced.

Alonso XI. of Castille was king in his minority,

and at the age of fourteen, having been removed from his guardians by a knot of friends, particularly Garcilasso de la Vega, and Alvaro Nuñez Osorio, aided by the wealth of Don Yusuf (Joseph) the Jew, of Ecija; these called upon the chancellor of the kingdom to account for the empty treasury. This office had been for ages attached to the see of Toledo; but as the archbishop refused to submit his books to the new Camarilla, he was deprived of the charge, and in disgust he exchanged his metropolitan mitre for another, and the Jew succeeded the primate of all Spain, as chancellor of the exchequer of Castille [1]. This post he held for five years: but it was a perilous eminence for a Jew. At length came the deputation to him as to his predecessor, requesting the inspection of his ledger, the sure signal for ruin, and he was deposed, after the object had been gained of retrieving the regal exchequer by his means. A decree was also made, that for the future, that function should never be entrusted to one not of the Christian faith: and its Arabic name Almoxarife was to be superseded by that of treasurer-general.

Another tumult at Barcelona, in 1348, for the plunder or slaughter of the Jews, was with dif-

[1] Mariana.

ficulty suppressed by the king (Peter IV. the Ceremonious) on his return from Majorca to hold the Catalan cortes; and in the same year the Valencians sallied out against Rivaroja, the residence of Moses Ramon de Riusech, the king's majordomo; and thence to Murviedro, where they pillaged the Jewry.

The next year, in Castille, Alonso XI. being absent in the Moorish war, was unable to defend the Jewry of his capital; for it was assaulted with so much fury that the horrid transactions of York in 1189 were there repeated. R. Asher had recently arrived in Toledo with his eight sons, escaping from a persecution in Germany. As the Christians (so called) were bursting into the house, one of these sons, under the influence of desperation, slew his parents, his wife, his brother Jacob (author of the voluminous "Four Orders"), all the relations there assembled, and finally himself, rather than they or he should fall into the hands of the Nazarenes.

The successor on the throne was that unintelligible monster, Peter the Cruel. Hating his wife, he was infatuated with Maria de Padilla. The common belief attributed his conduct to Hebrew witchcraft, when the saddened queen, having resorted to one of that nation for a charm to secure her husband's regard, had received a

girdle, which, unknown to herself, always appeared to the king as a living serpent, and from which he naturally recoiled in abhorrence.

During the distractions of the civil war between Peter and his brothers, the Jews were oppressed by each party. On the entry of the former into Toledo, in 1354, the Jewry was plundered, and after the murder of one thousand victims the king arrested the proceedings. Six years after this, he gained the property of Samuel Levi, who had been for several years his chief treasurer and councillor. A form of accusation was drawn out, and the sufferer expired under the torments of the rack. This confiscation brought in to the king about 400,000 ducats, besides furniture, jewels, and cloth of gold and silver [1]. The same year, at Najara, the Infantes, brothers of Peter, put all the Jews to death.

In 1362, Abu Said, the usurper of Granada, (called the Scarlet King) came to Seville to conciliate the favour of Peter, with large presents. He and his followers were lodged in the Jewry. On the third day's interview, during a banquet, the Castilians seized them and their property, and the next morning beheaded them all on a rising ground named the Tablada: a spot still more

[1] Mariana.

desecrated in after times by the fires of the Inquisition.

Burgos was in 1366 surprised and entered by Henry of Trastamara, who had himself crowned there, and during the ceremonial he *accepted* large contributions from the Jews. These had probably heard of Najara.

At length the wretched Peter was chased to his last refuge, the tower of Estrella; on entering which, he suddenly recollected that an astrologer had long before predicted that he should die in a tower of that name. "But," says Mariana, "we know how idle are all such stories, and that things related in after time are said to have been predicted;" and he gives a better narration of that day's astrology. "The monarch was attended by a Jewish physician, who had previously assured him that he should obtain new dominions and amass great riches. In his hour of extremity he reproached the Jew with his falsehood; but the latter rejoined, 'Though the natural weather be frosty, yet a man in a vapour bath will perspire with heat.' Thus giving him to understand that the acts of a man's will are more potent than the influence of stars."

Upon the death of Peter, Henry returned to Burgos; but this time, the Jews, having had more leisure for preparation, actually fortified their

quarter, holding out still for the cause of Peter. Their fidelity pleased the conqueror, and he gained them to his side by honourable conditions [1]. Thus terminated the war, in which De Guesclin on one side, and the English Black Prince on the other, had witnessed enormities unknown in their respective countries.

At the close of 1370, king Henry of Portugal held a cortes at Toro, where, after the dispatch of political affairs, it was resolved that the Jews and Moors of that kingdom, who were exceedingly numerous (una muchedumbre grandissima) should be distinguished by a peculiar dress, as in Castille.

The king of Aragon, in cortes at Monzon (A.D. 1376), levied a tax upon the Jews and Moors sufficient for the expected war with France, without the least exaction from his Christian subjects. This must have been extremely oppressive.

About this time many lives were sacrificed in a tumult at Granada. The king's physician, Isaac Hamoni, was passing through a street, richly apparelled and in his chariot; but the place was obstructed by a crowd around two men quarrelling. A person in the throng entreated one of the combatants, in the name of the prophet, to refrain, and let the other go; but without success. Presently

[1] Cardoso, Excelencias de los Hebreos.

after he made the same appeal, on the consideration that the king's physician was there. Upon hearing this, the dispute was instantly hushed. But the fanatical populace were enraged to find the Jew possess greater authority than Mohammed, and crying out that their religion was outraged, they took up arms and killed many of the Jews. Those in highest estimation found a refuge in the Alhambra; but from that time the Granadine Jews laid aside their showy vestments and chariots, "partly to avoid the popular odium, and partly out of grief for such as were slain on that account [1]."

The minority of Henry III. of Castille was calamitous for the Jews, and the year 1390 will ever be memorable in their annals. The archdeacon of Ecija, Fernan Martinez (let his name be recorded), preached openly in the streets of Seville, the merit of extirpating the Hebrew infidels. His truculent counsel was but too cheerfully obeyed. The feeble efforts of the magistracy only served to augment the rage of the multitude, till the utmost license of rabid fury was wreaked upon the devoted objects. Synagogues and dwellings were pillaged or burned, and half their tenants massacred. From Seville the storm passed

[1] "Sceptre of Judah."

on to Cordova, where the same horrors were renewed. On that identical day of the next year[1], all this was repeated in Toledo, Logroño, Valencia, and Barcelona. Numberless Jews were put to the knife[2], in order to thin the number of the votaries to that "cursed religion;" farms and rural homes were burned, and many of the sufferers were glad to escape into Africa, Italy, or Turkey; and it is asserted that 200,000 accepted baptism (11,000 in Valencia alone), rather than incur the loss of life and goods. Glorious triumph! let it not be referred to a popular commotion—the ecclesiastical powers are entitled to all the reward that may be reaped from the transaction; for it was commenced by an ecclesiastic of rank, sanctioned by the prior example of a primate of all Spain (Roderic, about A.D. 1210), unchecked by the conservators of the people's religion; and the fruit of the whole was precisely what the Church had most at heart, and most tenaciously retained, an influx of converts by any means. Neither priest, bishop, nor archbishop protested against the butchery, although more than 3,000 fell in the first onslaught; and although, after twelve months' interval, on the same fifth of August ("as though

[1] Mariana. [2] Zurita.

they had concerted the day[1],") the unrebuked deed was recommenced and carried into the other kingdom.

The Castilian regency was administered by a mere cabal; and in Aragon there was indeed an army being raised for the Sicilian expedition which might have suppressed the outrages, but did not. —And while in his palace the old king was probably listening as usual to some lays of his tinkling troubadours, his people's

> "Sighs, and groans, and shrieks, that rend the air,
> Were made, not mark'd."—

But at an early hour of daylight, when the streets are silent, except with the cry of the flitting quail, should some stranger from a far-off land, unprepared for such a scene, find the thresholds of those southern cities stained with darkened gore, and perceive about the broken doors of rifled houses whole families of corpses, with gasping gashes on their bodies, and limbs stiffened in every convulsive posture,—would he suppose that all this had been done in the name of God, by neighbours upon neighbours? Or, amid the breathing orange-groves, where rustic homesteads lay prostrate in blackened ashes, with their slaughtered owners tossed upon the heaps, imagine this

[1] Mariana.

visitor to be unacquainted with Christianity, would he not shudder at the detestable religion of the country, if he learned that these deeds had been done by its influence? And how could he ever be taught that such a religion was styled a gospel of "good-will to man?"

Painful must have been the next celebration of Purim to the survivors. Passing along the secluded lanes of the Jewries, every tenement in which had witnessed the bloody tragedy, and brooding over the thought that in Spain there had been no Esther to shield them; can we wonder that in the liturgy of the synagogue should be found such a prayer as the following?

"O Lord God, to whom vengeance belongeth, O God, to whom vengeance belongeth, shine forth! Exalt thyself, O Judge of the earth, render a reward to the proud. How long, O Lord, shall the wicked, how long shall the wicked triumph? How long shall they utter and speak reproachful things, and all the workers of iniquity exalt themselves? Thy people, O Lord, they oppress, and afflict thy heritage. They slay the widow and the stranger, and murder the fatherless: yet they say, the Lord doth not see, neither doth the God of Jacob regard it. Wherefore should the nations say, Where is their God? O let him be known among the nations in our sight, by revenging the

blood of thy servants which hath been shed. O let the sighs of the prisoner come into thy presence; according to the greatness of thy power, preserve those that are doomed to die. And render unto the bosom of our neighbours seven-fold their reproach wherewith they have reproached thee, O Lord. Let their eyes be darkened that they see not, and cause thou their loins to shake continually. Pour out thine indignation upon them, and let thine indignant wrath seize them. Let their palace be desolate, and in their tents let no one dwell. The house of the proud the Lord will destroy; but he will establish the border of the widow (*i. e.* Israel). Shall I acquit them of their blood which they have shed? Surely I will not acquit them, for the Lord dwelleth in Sion[1]."

Alas! it is because their oppressors were popish Christians, and themselves rabbinical Jews, that such fierce entreaties are mingled with devotion. Where is the long-suffering of Christ among such as are called by his name? and where is the martyr's prayer, "Lord, lay not this sin to their charge?"

The political events of Spain may be thus briefly stated. In 1212, that motley army which, as we

[1] "For those who have suffered martyrdom."—Levi's Jewish Prayers.

have seen, attacked the Jews in Toledo, met the Moors in the Plains of Tolosa. The army reckoned seven prelates under arms, among whom was conspicuous the Archbishop Roderic, brandishing an immense iron cross at the head of the forces he had procured in France. Their adversaries were led on by Mohammed the Green, so called from the colour of his turban as a Shereef: but the Christians, animated by visions in the air, gave them a terrible defeat, and, following up the advantage, murdered all the infidels, without distinction, in Ubeda, and at Baeza they burned alive such as took refuge in the mosque. For recompense, they were absolved from all their sins by the Church which holds the keys of Peter. The fruits of this victory were the reduction of all Spain to the true faith, except the cities of Seville, Cordova, Valencia, and the kingdoms of Granada and Murcia.

In 1217, the crowns of Leon and Castille were finally united by Ferdinand III.; and, during the cessation of Moorish warfare, this king was employed in burning Albigenses, at the instigation of St. Dominic: the royal hands even cast logs into a fire which was consuming a victim. He has since been canonized.

Cordova was recovered by Castille in 1234; and the bells of Santiago, which for nearly two hun-

dred and forty years had served as lamps in the mosque, were now sent back upon the shoulders of captive Moors. The city and territory were dispeopled, to a great extent, of the Mohammedans and Jews, and their place supplied by colonists from France, whom the conqueror invited by the lure of peculiar privileges.

Valencia was taken by James I. of Aragon, in 1237. The "Cronica de España" tells us that, during the siege, an Imaum ascended the highest minar of the city, and poured forth lamentations over Valencia! Valencia! And when the victor expelled fifty thousand Moors and Jews from this exquisite paradise, sad and painful was the march to leave the bright Guadalaviar.

Granada still subsisted under the ramparts of the Sierra Nevada; and the Almohads having now abandoned Spain for their native Africa, a new and independent monarchy was founded there by Alahmar, who in 1238 was inaugurated with the ancient ceremonies of prayer between four banners placed towards the cardinal points, the homage of nobles, and public proclamation [1]. This small but compact dominion gave to the Moors a freedom unknown for a hundred and fifty years past, and it prospered for more than two centuries and a half.

[1] "Guerra de Granada," por D. Diego Mendoza.

In 1248, Seville, and in 1264, Murcia, were reclaimed to Christendom by Castille. Four hundred thousand of all ages, including a large number of Jews, either voluntarily resigned, or were expelled from these districts. And king Ferdinand, being now sovereign from the Guadalquivir to the Straits, proposed to join a crusade to the Holy Land, but was detained by a dropsy which ended in death.

The four kingdoms of the Peninsula, viz. Castille, Aragon, Portugal, and Granada, remained at rest; but a few petty sheikhs, whose territories had been reserved to them in Andalusia, under tribute to Castille, were continually in a state of revolt; and as the king of Granada had bound himself to aid against all enemies of that crown, he was thus under the frequent necessity of fighting for the Christians against people of his own faith.

King James of Aragon died in 1276,—a brave enthusiastic old man, and much respected. He had however encouraged the inquisitions for Albigensian heresy; and while his neighbour Alonso of Castille translated the Scriptures into the vernacular tongue, he had, in his mistaken zeal, decreed that whosoever possessed a Spanish Bible and did not give it up to *be burned,* should be suspected of heresy. There was a considerable stir about this period, concerning the Albigenses, whose doctrines

had penetrated thither from Southern France. Besides the hatred in which they were regarded by the Church, as heretics, they met with supercilious treatment on account of their fewness, and absence of worldly influence; but religious verity is not always the companion of numbers or secular authority.

> "What pearl is that which rich men cannot buy,
> That learning is too proud to gather up,
> But which the poor, and the despised of all,
> Seek and obtain; and often find unsought?
> Tell me, and I will tell you what is Truth[1]."

In 1319, a Christian army traversed the Vega of Granada to within sight of the Alhambra; upon the towers of which Ishmael summoned his court, and reproached them with that ill-omened spectacle.

A large African host and naval force having arrived at Tarifa, and being joined by the Granadines, they were met by the kings of Castille and Portugal; and during the fury of the engagement, with two kings on each side, the heart of a fifth king, within a silver case, was thrown amid the infidels by one who cried, "Pass on, heart of Bruce,—Douglas will follow thee!" The

[1] Cowper.

victory remained with the Christians, and the spoil of gold and silver was so prodigious as to alter the relative value of current coin and provisions.

Then ensued the war of succession between Peter the Cruel, and Henry of Trastamara. After which, a constant sea warfare with the Moors; a war with Portugal; and another with England, arising from John of Gaunt's claiming Castille for his wife Constance.

CHAPTER XIX.

LITERATURE OF THE THIRTEENTH AND FOURTEENTH CENTURIES.

ALONSO X. succeeded his father Saint Ferdinand A.D. 1250; and from his love of learning has been denominated the Wise. With the laudable desire to refine and dignify the vernacular tongue; seeing that Latin was certainly a dead language [1], and Arabic, to which the people were very partial, was that of a declining infidel cause; he issued proclamations in Castilian, commanding its adoption in legal documents [2]. He completed his father's undertaking of a code of laws in the same language, to be called the

[1] In 1220, Gonzalo Bereco wrote in Spanish, not being, he said, learned enough to write Latin.

[2] For 200 years later the notaries signed public documents in both Arabic and Castilian.

"Siete Partidas," or seven sections; based upon the primitive Fuero Juzgo and the irregular Fuero of the early Christian communities. He had a chronicle of Spanish history drawn up in the same[1], and finally the Bible translated for popular use. All this formal discountenance of Latin, Mariana considers "an occasion of great ignorance in literature, which spread over our nation, as well the ecclesiastics as seculars[2]." But this king is most spoken of as an astronomer, from the profession of which science the Jews acquired high favour at court. For the compilation of the "Astronomical Tables," which were long afterwards held in great estimation, Alonso summoned to his palace above fifty of the most reputable astronomers; some from Paris, four from the Moors, and many from among the Jews. The king presided occasionally at the conferences, and it was probably during the perplexity occasioned by some of Ptolemy's

"Cycles and epicycles, orbs on orbs,"

that he rashly exclaimed, that the universe was very clumsily arranged, and if the Creator had consulted him at the beginning, he could have

[1] Las 4 partes enteras, &c. [2] Historia, sub anno 1284.

suggested some improvements. The sidereal observations were continued from 1258 to 1262, when the tables being completed and drawn up by R. Moses of Kiriath-jearim [1], the monarch recompensed his sages in the most munificent manner. The whole cost of the work is estimated at 400,000 ducats [2].

By means of Jews exclusively, he published the "Book of Circles," which is still preserved with care at Alcala. The rabbis employed upon this were, R. Juan de Axsina, R. Moses ben Juan of Cremona, R. Judah of Toledo, a R. Samuel, and R. Judah ben Joseph ben Moses, who translated also, by order of Alonso, the astronomical books of Ali ben Ragel, from Arabic to Castilian.

The numerous Jewish writers of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were these:—

I. R. Judah ben R. Moses Cohen, of Toledo: translated, by order of king Alonso, the astrono-

[1] According to Wolfius, who saw this rabbi's Hebrew work in the Vatican. David Clement says, that the Hebrew was by R. Isaac aben Sid, and that R. Moses of Kiriath-jearim translated it into Latin by the king's order.

[2] Or 40,000, as some propose to read. "But these 'Tables' cost the king more than so many ducats, they cost him the empire of Germany," (Bayle, Dict. Hist. et Critique, i. 805.) alluding to Alonso's neglect of earthly politics, for the study of the stars. See Freytag's Adparatus Litterarius.

mical works of Avicenna from Arabic to Castilian, and wrote two books of his own on the fixed stars, which he divided into forty-eight constellations.

II. R. Isaac aben Latiph, wrote on:—

1. The figure of the world, and constitution of the heavens.

2. Philosophical tracts.

3. "Questions and Answers," on Jewish law.

4. "Bundle of Myrrh," (Cant. i. 13.) probably Cabala.

5. "Gate of Heaven," (Gen. xxviii. 17.) a very large work, in three parts: 1. On the Being of God and Spirits; 2. On Prophecy, and some passages in Genesis; 3. On the Figure of the World. Written in 1244.

III. R. Perets ben Isaac, the priest of Gerona, flourished in 1241, author of:—

1. "Dispositions of Divinity:" Subtle and Cabalistic.

2. Additional notices on the Talmud, and on the "Book of Precepts," by R. Isaac of Corbeil.

IV. R. Jonah of Gerona, ben R. Samuel; a disciple of Moses bar Maimon, died in 1264, or as some say, 1304. He wrote:—

1. "The Gate of Penitence."

2. " Bound and Loose."

3. Annotations on R. Isaac Al-fes.

4. Annotations on the " Chapters of the Fathers."

V. R. Jonah, whom the king of Aragon commissioned to compose a work on the duties of religion. This, after consultation with R. Jonah of Gerona, was accomplished under the name of " Treatise on the Fear of God," and translated by R. David Cohen, from Hebrew to Spanish: since then it has been rendered into German [1].

VI. R. Shem Tob bar Isaac of Tortosa, in the thirteenth century.

1. " Orchard of Pomegranates," (Cant. iv. 13.) on the Agadoth.

2. Sundry Hebrew translations from Arabic.

VII. R. Abraham bar Judah of Barcelona. About 1252, he published the " Four Orders," on, 1. The Existence of God; 2. Divine Providence; 3. The final cause of the Mosaic Precepts; 4. The asserted cessation of that law's obligation.

VIII. R. Mahhmad aben Isaac, physician at Toledo. Wrote on medicine in 1265.

[1] Basnage.

IX. Joseph ben Isaac, who wrote, in the vernacular Spanish, a book on medicine. Toledo, 1267.

X. R. Gershom bar Solomon of Catalonia. About 1272. Author of "The Gate of Heaven," upon all created things, and the sciences of Theology and Astronomy. He was father of the celebrated Levi ben Gershom, who is to be reckoned among the French Jews.

XI. R. Solomon aben Job of Granada.

1. Translation from the Arabic of Rambam's "Book of the Precepts."

2. Translation from the Arabic of Averroes' Aristotle on Heaven and the World.

3. On Hæmorrhoids, still unprinted.

XII. R. Judah Cohen of Toledo. Author of the "Exposition of Wisdom," besides various treatises on Mathematics, Astronomy, and Scripture, written during his travels in France and Italy.

XIII. R. Moses aben Tibbon, maintained the peculiar reputation of his family by translating from Arabic to Hebrew,

1. Euclid's Elements, fifteen books; still preserved in Rome.

2. The "Logic," "Book of Precepts," "Regimen of Health," and "Cure of Poisons," by Moses bar Maimon.

3. The Aphorisms of Hippocrates.

4. The astronomical tables of Alfergano.

5. "Provision for the Way," (Gen. xlii. 25.) by Ahhmet ben Abraham.

6. Various books of Aristotle; such as, On Interpretation, The Analytics, The Categories, &c.

7. Several tracts by Averroes on Aristotle.

XIV. Jacob aben Hhaviv ben Solomon. Wrote the "Fountain of Jacob," (Deut. xxxiii. 28.) a Talmudic work, more commonly known as the "Fountain of Israel," and an unprinted annotation on the "Way of Life," by R. Joseph Karo.

XV. Rabbenu Nissim, Abu Alpharag of Gerona, ben R. Reuben.

1. Annotations on R. Isaac Al-fes.

2. Legal Decisions.

3. Notes on the "Fountain of Jacob," by Aben Hhaviv.

4. Kiddushin; or, New Elucidations of the Talmud.

XVI. R. Aaron Levi, ben Joseph Benvenista; died 1293.

1. "Book of Instruction," on the 613 precepts.

2. The "Fixture of the House," a supplement to the "Law of the House," by Solomon ben Addereth.

XVII. R. Shem Tob of Leon; died 1293.

1. "The Tabernacle of the Testimony." (Exod. xxxviii. 21.)

2. Sermons.

3. "Book of Weight."

4. "Book of the Faith." This last was written with the object of recalling a young convert to Christianity, who had repaired to the Pope at Avignon.

XVIII. R. Isaac Israeli ben Joseph, of Toledo; died 1312.

1. "The Gate of Heaven," in twenty-two chapters, on the positions and courses of the planets, according to Ptolemy's Almagest.

2. The "Foundation of the World," a first-rate work on astronomy, which, two years before his death, he dedicated to his old preceptor, R. Asher. Its contents are: 1. On Geometry; 2. On the Figure of the World, the Number and Motion of the Spheres and Celestial Bodies, the Divisions of

the Earth, and the Diversity of Day and Night in various places; 3. On the Solar and Lunar Movements, Solstices, New Moons, and Eclipses; 4. The art of Intercalation, and an Explication of some Talmudic difficulties on this subject.

5. Astronomical Tables, and a Perpetual Almanack.

XIX. R. Isaac bar Joseph ben Israel; died 1312.

1. "The Chain of Tradition," a Chronicle of Judæo-Spanish writers and occurrences, down to 1310.

2. "Foundations of Embolismic Reckoning."

3. "Astronomical Tables," perhaps a selection from.

4. "The Everlasting Foundation," (Prov. x. 25.) on Astronomy.

5. Supplement to the above.

There had been another writer of the same name more than three hundred years before: and the two are frequently so confounded that the works of one are attributed to the other.

XX. R. Solomon ben Addereth, called Harrisba, a disciple of Moses bar Nahhman and Jonah of Gerona, and an instructor of Rashi. He wrote on legal questions and the Gemara, parti-

cularly the "Law of the House," on domestic religious rites; to which have been appended, "The Fixture of the House," by R. Aaron Levi, and "The Servant of the House," by some author unknown. This rabbi, as president of Barcelona, in conjunction with R. Asher, published a formal decree to prohibit the study of any Gentile philosophy or science before the age of twenty-four: a resolution which gave rise immediately and for a long time afterwards, to controversial epistles, (the pamphlets of the time) a few in its defence, but far more in its condemnation.

XXI. R. Abba Mori ben Moses Mori, author of:—

1. "The Offering of Jealousy," (Num. v. 18.) in the form of letters, against the Barcelona decree, in defence of early study of philosophy.

2. Remarks on the Purim Hymn of R. Isaac aben Gheath.

3. On Astronomy.

XXII. R. Jedediah ben Abraham Happenini, of Barcelona, frequently named Anbonet Abraham. The following, his works, are celebrated for elegance of style and expression:—

1. On the Vanity of the World.

2. "The Wedge of Gold;" (Josh. vii. 24.) An-

notations on the Talmudic Exposition of the Psalms (Medrash Tehillim).

3. An Epistle in answer to sundry Philosophical Questions.

4. An Apology for other Studies than Theology and Medicine. Addressed to R. Solomon ben Addereth.

5. An Elucidation of Aben Ezra's Comment.

6. A Prayer to God, in Verse, every line commencing with the letter ם (a conceit much esteemed in those times).

7. A Poem, each line commencing with the letter ל.

8. Comment on the Psalms.

9. Compendium of the Canons of Avicenna.

10. Annotations on the Talmudic Treatises, Medrash Rabboth, Tanchum, and Siphré.

11. Treatise on the Intellect and Imagination.

12. (Also attributed to him) "The Selection of Pearls," a collection of didactic sayings from the Grecian and Arabian sages; since translated from Arabic by R. Judah Tibbon.

XXIII. R. Moses, of Leon, who wrote on the resurrection of the body. When elected ruler of the synagogue at Avila, he was so poor as to be unable to pay his expenses on the road. And when at Avila, he found the stipend insufficient

for the support of his family. He produced some Cabalistic writings, which he asserted to be recently discovered fragments of Simeon ben Johhai, in the second century. The forgery was however detected.

XXIV. R. Hhaiim bar R. Samuel Berabbi David, of Toledo; wrote about 1291:—

1. "The Bundle of Life," (1 Sam. xxv. 29.) sermons.

2. "The Bundle of Money;" (Gen. xlii. 35.) a book of morals.

XXV. R. Behhai ben Asher, of Zaragoza, disciple of Solomon ben Addereth:—

1. "The Barrel of Meal." (1 Kings xvii. 16.)

2. "The Square Table," legal decisions.

3. Considerations on the Law of Moses.—1. Literally; 2. Allegorically; 3. Cabalistically.

XXVI. R. Joseph aben Jahhiia, lived to above ninety years, and ranked high among his people as a poet and grammarian. His works which remain are:—

1. An Elegy on R. Solomon ben Addereth, his teacher and friend, with several other poems.

2. Talmudic Decisions and Annotations.—But the rest of his writings, and all the books of his

college, were burned by the Papal Commission in 1414.

XXVII. R. Joseph of Toledo; wrote, "The Ruler of the World," upon the origin and meaning of the synagogue rites in Europe.

XXVIII. R. David of Estella:—

1. "The Tower of David;" (Cant. iv. 4.) Sermons on the Law.

2. "The House of God." (Gen. xii. 8.)

3. "Kiriath-Sepher," (the city of the book, Josh. xv. 15.)

XXIX. R. Meir Mithridos, son of Theodore, chief of the Levites in Burgos—"a bright star, and his sacred root flourished at Toledo, raising up many offshoots [1]."

XXX. R. Meir, of Narbonne, born at Toledo, wrote:—

1. Epistles against Moses bar Nahhman.

2. "Before and Behind," a famous Cabalistic work.

XXXI. R. David aben Gedaliah aben Jahhiia;

[1] "Branch of David."

was living in Castille in 1325, but removed to Lisbon in his old age :—

1. Decisions on the Law.
2. On Clean and Unclean Food.

XXXII. R. Isaac of Dura; about 1334, he compiled the "Sessions of Dura," or Decisions on Things Lawful.

XXXIII. R. Joseph ben Caspi, of Barcelona. In 1331 he withdrew to Provence, vowing never to revisit Spain till he had written something to procure him a reputation for learning. He published twenty small books on Scripture, besides

1. Remarks on the Grammar of R. Jonah aben Ganahh.
2. Remarks on the Grammar of Aben Ezra.
3. Compendium of Logic.
4. Illustration of Aristotle's Ethics, and Plato upon Government.

XXXIV. Messer Vidal of Narbonne; died 1375. Author of :—

1. "Declaring Double;" (Zech. ix. 12.) in the course of which he impugns some passages in R. Isaac Al-fes, and the "Mighty Hand" of Moses bar Maimon.
2. Remarks on the "Book of Logic," by Abu

Ahhmat Algazali, in Arabic, but since done into Hebrew.

3. A Comment on Job.

XXXV. R. Menahhem ben Zerahh, of Estella. In the year that he was married occurred the Navarrese massacre; his father, mother, and four younger brothers were thus murdered, and himself left for dead with many wounds. A soldier riding by, late in the night, heard him groan, and lifted the unfortunate Jew upon his horse, bound up his wounds, clothed him, and had him cured. Thus preserved, Menahhem repaired to Toledo, and studied the Talmud for two years. Thence to Alcala, where he joined himself to R. Joshua ab Alesh, for prosecution of the same study, until the latter died in 1350, to whom he succeeded as ruler of the college till 1368. During the civil wars which then ensued, he lost all his property; but when supplied by Dr. Samuel Abarbanel, at Seville, he was established at Toledo for the remainder of his eventful life. To this benefactor he dedicated his book on Jewish rites and ceremonies, entituled, "Provision for the Way."

XXXVI. R. Moses, of Cordova, a renowned Cabalist: quitting Spain, he assisted in forming a college in Galilee. His writings are:—

1. "The Orchard of Pomegranates," (Cant. iv. 13.) his principal work.
2. The Elementary and Sublunary World.
3. The World of Spheres.
4. The World of Angels.
5. The World Above.
6. The World in Miniature, *i. e.* Man.
7. The Plant of Deborah.
8. Comment on the Canticles.
9. Comment on the Lamentations.
10. Comment on the Book of the Law.
11. Comment on the "Jetsirah."
12. "Precious Light," a Comment on Zohar, (a Cabalistic work of the second or third century,) in sixteen folio volumes.

XXXVII. Zachariah, the false prophet.

1. "Goodly Words" (Gen. xlix. 21.) upon—1. Modern knowledge; 2. The wisdom of the prophets; 3. The wisdom of Israel's sages; concluding with a cabalistic explanation of various questions connected with Scripture.

XXXVIII. R. Shem Tob Shiprut: inherited his father's hatred for Christianity, against which he published, "The Touchstone," (Isa. xxviii. 16.) inveighing bitterly against the doctrines of the

Trinity, Incarnation, Transubstantiation, &c. One portion of the book consists of a translation of St. Matthew's Gospel into Hebrew, said to be so unfairly performed, that, among other faults, the names in the genealogy are grossly mis-spelt, and are therefore of no avail for comparison with the Old Testament. To each chapter are subjoined questions for Christians to answer. An appendix to the work is called, "Replies to Alfonso the Apostate" (a person unknown). The MS. is still in Rome, and dated at Turiasso, Old Castille, 1340. This rabbi wrote also his "Remarks" on Aben Ezra's Comment on the Law.

XXXIX. R. David Abudrahan; about 1340.

1. Explanation of the Daily Prayers throughout the year.
2. The Order of Intercalation in the Calendar.
3. Astronomical Tables.
4. On the Solstices and Equinoxes.

XL. R. Judah bar Asher, who slew his own family in the massacre of Toledo. Author of:—

1. "The Ordinance of the Law." (Num. xix. 2.)
2. "The Ordinances of Heaven." (Job xxxviii. 33.)

XLI. R. Jacob bar Asher: compiled the "Four

Orders," upon all the Jewish customs and ceremonies under the dispersion. The ponderous volume is thus divided:—1. "The Path of Life," on the annual festivals; 2. "The Teacher of Wisdom," on the occasional rites; 3. "The Eben-Ezer" (stone of help) on the laws of marriage, and women's duties, &c.; 4. "The Breastplate of Justice," on all civil and juridical matters.

XLII. R. Solomon bar Enoch; removed from Constantinople to Burgos, and wrote "The Depths of the Law," in elucidation of difficult passages.

XLIII. R. Meir Aldabi, nephew of R. Asher. His "Way of the Faith" was composed about 1360, and treats of the world; the spheres and their motion; man, and his formation before birth; the body, the soul; rewards, punishments; redemption of Israel; resurrection of the body, the life to come, and the First Cause.

XLIV. R. Jom Tob bar Abraham of Seville; about 1370: author of sundry comments on the Scriptures and the Talmud, also "the Tower of Strength," (Psalm lxi. 3.) on Moses bar Maimon.

XLV. R. David Cohen of Seville, in 1386.

Compiled an Arabic Dictionary in rabbinical characters, with marginal notes in Latin, Hebrew, Greek, and Arabic.

XLVI. R. Moses Cohen of Tordesilla, who drew up the arguments which he had employed with a baptized Jew, in the examination of 145 passages of Scripture usually urged by Christians. This book, which he designated "the Stronghold of the Faith," he presented to the synagogues of Avila and Toledo.

XLVII. R. Jacob ben Mahhir ben Tibbon, of Seville and Cordova: he translated the following books from Arabic to Hebrew:—

1. On Astronomy, by Abu Ali ben Aleitam.
2. Remarks on the Astrolabe.
3. Astronomical Tables.
4. Tracts by Averroes.
5. Euclid's Elements.
6. "Book of the Spheres," by Costa bar Lucas.

XLVIII. R. Abraham the Levite. Ruler at Pesquiera in Old Castile. Author of:—

1. Animadversions on the "Mighty Hand" of Moses bar Maimon.
2. "Living Men," on legal decisions.
3. Comment on "Jetsirah."

4. New Explanations of the Talmud.

5. Animadversions on R. Isaac Al-fes.

6. Animadversions on Zachariah the Levite, who in the 12th century had criticised the "Living men" on matrimony, by an earlier Abraham the Levite.

He died on the eve of commemorating the dedication of the temple. The "Sceptre of Judah" states, that he was hanged by the king, after a vain attempt to convert him. To which Bartoloccio indignantly rejoins, that the kings of Spain never acted so towards the Jews, only they used to burn alive such as having in form embraced Christianity were found to "turn again to their vomit."

XLIX. R. Moses the Holy, believed to have been also a physician to the court of Castille. He wrote in Spanish a moral poem of strange character, called "The General Dance." It is in fact the "Dance of Death," which was a popular theme of poetry and painting long before the time of Holbein[1]. After beauty, riches, talent,

[1] Paintings on this subject abounded in the middle ages, throughout Switzerland, Germany, the Netherlands, France, and England; upon bridges, cloisters, and the outer walls of churches; as well as in the illuminated missals. (See Dibdin's Bibliographical Decameron. Second day, p. 37.)

&c. have been danced into the grave by their partner Death, the poem is thus concluded :—

" As in gray ruin'd turrets the hawk may be bred,
Whose flight gives you pastime abroad in the field,
So the ruins of Judah whence glory is fled
Good morals with profit and pleasure may yield [1]."

L. R. Hhasdai ben Abraham bar Hhasdai bar Judah bar Hhasdai Kriskas. He wrote :—

1. " The Light of the Lord," (Isa. ii. 5.) on the divine law, its dignity and perpetuity, also on God and His providence; in twenty-four sections.

2. A relation of the sufferings of the Jews when charged with poisoning the wells.

An illustrious convert to Christianity in the 14th century was Solomon the Levite of Burgos. At baptism he assumed the name of Paul of Santa Maria; but is more commonly denominated Paul of Burgos. He wrote against Judaism, " On the scrutiny of the Scriptures," and became

[1] " Obras posthumas" de Sarmiento, quoting from the Marquis de Santillana, who places this Moses among the most eminent Troubadours. The " Biblioteca Española" of Rodriquez de Castro refers this poem, and another named the " Hermit's Vision," to one R. Shem Tob of Carrion, a converted Jew. To Don Moses, the physician of a later king of Castile, he ascribes an ode of congratulation on the birth of a prince.

bishop of Carthagena. A contemporary poet says, " that he possessed all human learning, all the secrets of high philosophy; he was a masterly logician, a sweet orator, an admirable historian, a subtle poet, a clear and veracious narrator, an excellent minister, and one of whom every body spoke well." He continues,

" 'Twas my delight to sit with him
Beneath the solemn ivy tree,
To hide me from the sunny beam
Beneath the laurel's shade, and see
The little silver streamlet flowing;
While from his lips a richer stream
Fell with the light of wisdom glowing:
How sweet to slake my thirst with him[1]!"

[1] Retrospective Review, iii. 213.

CHAPTER XX.

LAWS AND CONCILIAR DECREES RESPECTING JEWS MADE IN THE THIRTEENTH AND FOURTEENTH CENTURIES.

FUERO REAL of Alonso IX., who began to reign in 1188. Lib. III. Title i. Law 1.

"No Christian may presume to turn Jew or Mohammedan; or cause his child to do so: the penalty is death, and that by fire."

Lib. IV.—Tit. ii.—Fol. 204.

"We command that no Jews read books contrary to their law to invalidate it, or keep such books concealed: but every person having or finding such is to burn them publicly at the door of the synagogue. Also, we forbid them to read or to possess knowingly, any books which disparage our religion, but we permit to be read all books of the Law as given by Moses and the Prophets. Should any one read or retain books contrary to

the above regulation, his body and goods shall be at the disposal of the king."

Ibid.—Law 2.

"We strictly forbid that any Jew shall seduce a Christian to embrace his religion and be circumcised[1]. Whosoever does so shall die for it, and his goods belong to the king."

Ibid.—Law 3.

"If a Jew shall utter any reviling against God, or holy Mary, or other Saints, he shall forfeit ten maravedis to the king for each offence, and the king will sentence him to a hundred lashes."

Ibid.—Law 4.

"No Jew or Jewess shall presume to rear up the child of any Christian: neither give his or her child to a Christian to be reared. Whosoever shall do so shall forfeit a hundred maravedis to the king."

Ibid.—Law 5.

"No Jew shall lend on usury, or in any other

[1] The clergy in Spain (and also in other countries, in much later times) have always entertained a dread of this occurrence: not knowing or believing that the Jews abhor proselytism during their exile from the Holy Land.

manner, so as to have the person of a Christian in constraint. He that does so, shall lose all that is thus lent, and the Christian shall go free when he pleases, and no law-suit or decision shall have force to the contrary."

Ibid.—Law 6.

"No Jew that lends on interest shall do so at a higher rate than three per cent. for the whole year; no higher rate is legal. If more be taken, he shall return double the whole to the borrower, and no law-suit shall avail to the contrary. Moreover we forbid that he make use of any pledge, or allow another to use it: whosoever does so, shall pay to its owner half the value of the pledge, and no law-suit shall avail to the contrary. Moreover we ordain, that when the interest shall equal the capital, no more interest shall be claimed on that account till the year be ended, and no law-suit for gaining more by crafty means shall be available. But if by chance any more be taken than is here allowed, it shall be all restored as aforesaid. This law shall apply to Moors, Jews, and Christians, to every one that lends on interest."

Ibid.—Law 7.

"We do not forbid the Jews to observe their Sabbaths or other festivals, nor abrogate the privileges granted by holy Church, or former

kings. No one shall gainsay or diminish these; and they shall not be obliged to appear in law-suits on the above days; nor be held to any bond so as to violate their religion, neither shall they summon others to judgment on the above days."

THE "SIETE PARTIDAS"
of Alonso X. between 1250 and 1280 [1].

(No difference made in the laws of creditor and debtor on account of religion.)

(Christians are not to assize the price of articles which are exclusively sold and bought by Jews.)

Partida IV.—Title vi.—Law 6.

—"But if any, being Moors or Jews, shall marry according to their religion, with relations, or foster-brothers or foster-sisters, and after that shall become Christians, no such marriages shall be accounted unlawful to them, although the relationship be within the fourth degree; Holy Church

[1] During this interval of a century between the "Fuero Real," and the "Siete Partidas," the state of affairs had been greatly changed. The crowns of Leon and Castile were united. The Moors were driven from the great cities and territories of Cordova, Valencia, Seville, and Murcia, and their whole population expelled as such; therefore, when Moors are now mentioned in Christian laws, they must be considered aliens, insignificant in number, as traders, travellers, or visitors.

having granted this indulgence for the honour and increase of the faith; so that those not of our religion may not be withheld from turning Christians by a reluctance to forsake the wives thus married according to their own religion."

Title xxi.—Law 8.

"No Jew, Moor, Heretic, or other not of our religion, may have a Christian slave. Whosoever of them shall transgress this law by keeping knowingly a Christian for a slave, shall die for it, and his goods be confiscated to the king. Moreover, whosoever of the above shall have a slave not of our religion, if that slave turn Christian, he becomes instantly free at baptism and reception of our faith; and he is not bound to render any recompense for himself to him who was before then his master. And although afterwards the master should turn Christian, he shall not claim any property in him who was formerly his slave, but turned Christian before himself. This is to be understood when the Jew or Moor buys a slave with intention to make use of his service, and not to sell him as merchandise. For if he buy him with intention of sale, the slave is to be sold within three months; and if within the three months, while the owner is endeavouring to sell him, he shall turn Christian, then the Jew or Moor shall

not lose all the price that he may have given for him, but the slave shall be bound to give for himself, or there shall be given for him by the person who causes him to turn Christian, twelve maravedis of the coin current in the place; and if he have not wherewith to pay this, he is to do service to that amount, not as a slave, but as a free man, till he has earned the sum. If he be not sold within three months, and afterwards turn Christian, the owner shall have no recompense or right in him."

Partida VII.—Title xxiv.—Law 2.

"Jews are to reside among Christians, meekly, and without any evil design, keeping to their own religion, and not speaking ill of the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ to which we belong. Moreover, they are especially to beware of so discoursing as to turn aside any Christian to be a Jew, by praising their own religion and vilifying ours. Every one so offending shall be put to death, and his goods be confiscated. And forasmuch as we hear that in some places the Jews have observed and do still observe Good Friday, by commemorating the passion of our Lord Jesus Christ with mockery, stealing children and crucifying them, or making images of wax and crucifying them when children cannot he had, we do ordain that if report be

made again of such an act, in any place within our dominions, and it be verified; all who are found concerned therein, shall be taken, imprisoned and brought before the king, who when he shall ascertain its reality, will have them disgracefully executed, how many soever they be. Moreover, we prohibit every Jew from passing beyond his own door [1] on Good Friday, but he is to remain at home till Saturday morning. If this rule be transgressed, no appeal shall be allowed on account of loss or insult received from Christians on that day."

Ibid.—Law 3.

(That no Jew shall hold any office or dignity by virtue of which a penalty may be inflicted on Christians.)

Ibid.—Law 4.

"A synagogue is a place for Jewish prayer; and such may not be built in any new situation of our realm without our special permission. Yet such as have been of old time, if they become decayed, may be repaired or rebuilt on the same

[1] The word is *barrio*. They were not yet limited to a certain quarter in each town, or that limit might be here intended. This enactment was probably beneficial to the Jews.

spot, yet neither to be enlarged, nor raised higher, nor decorated. Every synagogue in which this law is transgressed shall be forfeited by the Jews, and pertain to the principal church of the town where it stands. Again, forasmuch as a synagogue is erected to the praise of God, we forbid that any Christian should dare to burn or pillage it, or take any thing from it by violence, unless when any criminal takes refuge there, for in such case he may be seized for the purposes of justice. Also we forbid that Christians should bring brute beasts into the synagogues, or otherwise disturb the Jews while there engaged in prayer according to their religion."

Ibid.—Law 5.

(That Jews are not to be amerced on the Sabbath day, and what judges may take cognizance of Jews.)

Ibid.—Law 6.

"No force or oppression is in any wise to be employed for urging a Jew to be converted; but with good examples, the holy Scriptures, and mild inducements, they are to be converted to the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ; for our Lord God desires no slavery under the influence of violence. Moreover we command, that whereas some Jews have

become Christians, they are to be honoured by all in our realm, and that none shall reproach them with their lineage: they are to retain their property, sharing with their brethren, and inheriting from their parents and other relatives, as though they were still Jews: and they are to be eligible to all honours and employments with other Christians.

Ibid.—Law 7.

(On the punishment due to any Christian for turning Jew [1].)

Ibid.—Law 8.

(That no Christian man, or woman, may reside in the house of a Jew, either as servants or guests; neither to use the same baths, nor to consult them medically, nor to take their medicines.)

Ibid.—Law 9.

(The punishment incurred by a Jew for cohabiting with a Christian woman.)

Ibid.—Law 10.

"Jews may neither buy nor keep Christian men nor women as slaves: and, if any one trans-

[1] The same as for Heresy. See Fuero Real, III. i. 1.

gress this law, the Christian is to become free, and repay no part of the price given for him, although the Jew knew not, when he bought him, that he was a Christian. But if he did know it when he bought him, the Jew is to be put to death. Moreover, we forbid that any Jew should dare to make his slave turn Jew, although the slave be a Moor, or of any other barbarous people: but should it be done, the slave who has been made a Jew or Jewess shall become free, and be withdrawn from the owner. And, if by chance any Moors being slaves of Jews, shall turn Christians, they are to become free therefore, as shown in the fourth Partida of this book, in the title 'On Freedom,' and the laws upon that subject."

Ibid.—Law 11.

"Many mistakes and grievances do occur among Christian and Jewish men and women, from living and abiding in one manner within the towns, and from being dressed alike. To obviate which, we hold for good, and do command, that all and every of Jewish men and women, shall wear some certain mark of distinction on the head, such as shall manifestly designate the different people. And if any Jew wear not this mark of distinction, he shall for every appearance in

public without it, be fined ten maravedis of gold; and should he not possess sufficient to pay it, shall receive publicly one hundred lashes."

Ibid.—Title xxix.—Law 6.

"Although it be not lawful to compel Jews or Moors to turn Christians: nevertheless, these shall not presume to revile God, or the saints, or the Catholic faith, which is so holy, so good, and so true."

These enactments seem to be framed purposely both to meet the king's liberality and the bigotry of the clergy. The ordinance to wear a badge, would in our days be accounted an extreme act of tyranny; but in the middle ages Crusaders and Templars were known by their coloured crosses, as the monks and nuns by their peculiar habits. Still to affix a mark upon any class of men *already hated*, was to expose them to certain oppression, especially in a country like Spain, where the invariable[1] characteristic of the people is the practice of private revenge, where the proclamations of kings are obeyed but at a short distance beyond their own superintendence, and

[1] "Fondu en bronze."—Chateaubriand.

where popular outrages have never been diminished by any degree of strength in the national government: as we shall hereafter find by abundant examples.

A council was held at Valladolid in 1322, and these regulations were adopted respecting the Jews.

1. That no infidel should be suffered in a Christian church, during divine service, but immediately at the commencement (especially of Mass) they were to be expelled, or locked up in some contiguous and private place by the sacristan, till the service should be ended.

2. That Christians were to be *ipso facto* excommunicated for being present at Jewish or Moorish weddings or funerals.

3. Fulminations repeated against the appointment of Jews to public offices.

4. Christians were forbidden to employ Jews in the medical, surgical, or apothecaries' arts; or to take any of their medicines: since by doing so, they incur an imminent danger of death.

5. A provision established for the maintenance of converts from the Jewish or Moorish religion. They were to be received into monasteries, or other pious places. Such as were not of handicraft trades, were to be taught them, and money ad-

vanced to procure tools, &c., but no relief was to be afforded to such as were already able to earn their own living, or had sufficient personal property for their maintenance. The usual laws to be observed with regard to inheritance. Such as were desirous, and competent by their learning, for the priesthood, were to be instructed for that object, and the bishops were exhorted to provide them churches; but whereas it is expedient that no man whatever be admitted lightly to preach the Gospel, so it was needful to be more particularly guarded in the admission of these converts to preach: and still more caution was required in licensing them to preach to those of their former religion.

The council of Salamanca, in 1335, enacted two important provisions in reference to Jews.

1. To abolish their medical practice among Christians, since their wickedness was such that under the pretext of surgery and medicine, they craftily insinuated themselves, and did injury to faithful people; Christian women were inhibited from suckling or feeding the infants of unbelievers [1], and all the faithful are forbidden to hold

[1] The Talmud is *in theory* equally cruel with the Castilian bishops, on this subject. (Hilchoth Accum, ix. 6. apud "Old Paths.")

any correspondence in writing with an unbeliever. The penalty of each of these crimes is excommunication.

2. To enclose the Jews of every town within an appointed quarter to be called a Jewry: a resolution falsely grounded on the precept of Moses upon a special occasion, that the innocent were not to approach the tents of the ungodly. Jews were not to dwell in the vicinity of any church or church-yard: and all Christians who should let to them the houses in such situations, incurred excommunication.

A council at Palencia (Leon) in 1388, made some additions to the decisions of Salamanca, on the subject of Christian and Jewish intercourse, "from which we know by experience, that many injuries to the bodies, and perils to the souls of faithful people have resulted." They confirm the separation into Jewries, but in exception provide, that Jewish and Saracen traders, or merchants, or mechanical artificers, may, for their employment or merchandise, have workshops, booths, stalls, or shops, in the streets, or other public places of the cities and towns of their residence; provided that within the quarters set apart, or thereafter to be set apart, they should have

their houses or chief dwelling for their wives or children, unto which they were to return at night.

"But Christians that shall presume to dwell within the limitation assigned, or to be assigned, for Jews and Saracens; if within two months from the publication of the present decree being made in the cathedral church of the diocese in which they reside, they fail to remove from living among Christians, they are to be compelled by ecclesiastical censure."

The enclosure of the Jews was a step beyond the tyranny which imposed the red badge; the next was the Inquisition, with irresponsible popular massacres to drive them within its jurisdiction. It must be expected that such a progression would arrive at some termination in less than a century to come. The Church would naturally desire Christian physicians to attend upon the sick and dying. But why did they declare an insincere reason (as in the above councils) for their injunction? If Hebrew medicines had ever poisoned the sick while pretending to heal them, it would be speedily known and avenged; but among all the calumnies propagated among that excitable population, there is no instance of a tumult created

on such a charge: but, on the contrary, despite these commands, the Jewish physicians were in general request [1].

The Moors were now collected within Granada without admixture of Christians, and the Jews were driven into corners. On all sides there was bigotry knitting every brow. The Church advanced her lines against the misbelievers like those leaden chambers of the later Inquisition, in which the victim beheld every day the four walls approach an inch nearer to his person, in order to crush him at the last—and the Jew, as he found himself hunted by subtle encroachments on his previous franchises, naturally loved less and less the gigantic and growing power which ruled his destiny; and a badged race always cling the closer to each other for being so. There was no longer a general converse among men of differing creeds, but still men—nor a liberal competition of genius among all. Each class of Spaniards was broadly stigmatized by the rest. Every one saw himself and his neighbour white or black; and whatever

[1] It is remarkable how vague is the language of the councils in giving a reason for their prohibition; the obedience of the people was equally lax. Both Peter the Cruel, and his brother Henry, kept Jewish physicians. In 1457, D. Alvaro de Estunga paid two hundred and twenty maravedis to R. Solomon the surgeon; and in Lisbon R. Abr. Zacut was physician to the Court.

of uncharitable was combined with either of the Christian, Jewish, or Mohammedan creeds (and in each of these there was always some such ingredient in theory, though often kept in abeyance by the effect of personal good-will), was now daily raked up and excited into rancour.

CHAPTER XXI.

CALUMNIES OF THE THIRTEENTH AND FOURTEENTH CENTURIES.

THE springs by which the clergy were able to rouse the sanguinary multitudes for persecuting the Jews, were found in the untiring propagation of falsehoods to the detriment of their character. Besides the theological enmity, which was their own concern, and the legislative arrangements, which they caused to be abundantly oppressive, they could keep the populace in a ferment by such unfounded representations, as that the Jews by their ingenuity in mechanical trades were robbing the true Church of their livelihood, and by their numbers were consuming the necessary food, and thus enhancing its price to the injury of Christians; and the more these tales, and their marvellous legends, with the same object, were preached, the more hearty became the hostility of both nar-

rator and hearer[1]. Monstrous fictions of diabolical cruelty were circulated among all classes of society. A huge controversial book, termed the "Fortress of the Faith," in the fifteenth century, teems with narrations calculated to excite horror and dread of the Jews: for example, Don Mehir, after being physician to Henry III. of Castille, was known in the next reign to purchase a *hostia* (sacramental wafer) from the Sacristan of Segovia, and then, in company with his friends, to cast it from sheer malice into a boiling cauldron; but, from its inherent vitality, the transubstantiated wafer leaped out, which so affrighted the criminals, that they wrapped it in a cloth, and carried it to the prior of the Dominicans, and related the whole affair. The prior told the bishop, and Don Mehir confessed not only this enormity, but, moreover, that the late king's death was caused by his having poisoned him. In refutation of all this, Cardoso[2], long afterwards, argues the glaring improbabilities of the story, and the totally different account given of King Henry's death by the historians. Yet, notwithstanding, the Jewish

[1] "A lying tongue hateth them who are afflicted by it." (Prov. xxvi. 28.) "Proprium humani generis est odisse quem læseris." —Tac. Agricola.

[2] "Las excelencias de los Hebreos."

physician and his companions were put to death and quartered in Segovia[1].

A Jew blacksmith at Tavora had his son executed for some crime: in consequence, he went mad, or feigned it, and, in revenge upon Christians, used to strew nails and calthrops in the fields and roads, so as to injure men and cattle, or nail up people's doors in the night, and throw fire in at the windows. But, complaint being made to the king, an order was made that no Jew should, thenceforward, reside in Tavora; and a brazen magical head, which was kept in the castle, would, on the approach of one of the forbidden race, exclaim, "A Jew in Tavora;" and, at his departure, "The Jew is out of Tavora."

These are related in a grave work which obtained a high reputation. There was also a popular belief in later times that all Jews had an hereditary bad smell, to which they had been condemned ever since the crucifixion of our Saviour, and which could only be removed by baptism. Cardoso, in reply to this, argues their cleanly habits and well-known healthy temperance of living,—that if the charge were true, it is induced by the Christians depriving them of pursuits which require strong exercise, and confining them

[1] Garibay.—Compendio Historal.

to unhealthy quarters of the cities; but that it is as untrue as the odoriferous sweat of Alexander the Great, in Plutarch, and the same of Hesiod in a modern Greek writer.

The Jews were also accused of placing the sign of the cross on the threshold of their synagogues, so that every one entering or leaving might trample or spit upon it, and of baptizing cats and dogs in mockery of the Christians. All such charges were of serious tendency in those times, for whenever a Dominican friar mounted an eminence with a crucifix in his hand, and recounted these horrors, the mobs of Andalusia, armed with their knives, were absolutely ungovernable.

But the favourite theme for invective was that of the secret murders which Jews annually committed for the celebration of Passover, when they took the warm blood to mingle with the unleavened bread.

Jacob de Valencia relates, that in 1174, a child was sacrificed at Zaragoza, and cast into a well; but the crime was discovered by the surface of the well being miraculously tinged with blood [1].

In 1250, one of the choristers in the Seu, or cathedral, of Zaragoza, was carried off by one Moses Albayzar for a sum of money, but who

[1] Cardoso.

afterwards repented and was baptized. The murder was revealed to the city guards appointed to watch the boats on the river by night[1]. They observed a light shining over a particular spot of the beach, and gave information to a priest, who recognized the lambent glory as the token of a saint being there deposited. The ground was opened, and the body of young Dominic being discovered, was conveyed to St. Giles' church: a vision, however, of the child, procured his removal to the cathedral, where he has ever since been revered as the martyr St. Dominic de Val, and great miracles have been attributed to his efficacy. The acts of his martyrdom are preserved in the archives, while poems and orations have commemorated the glorious event. By one of these he has been compared to our Saviour, because one is Dominus in Latin, and the other Dominicus; both were put to death by Jews, &c.

At Valladolid, in 1454, two Jews seized a child in the fields, and killed him, took out the heart, and buried the body; but some shepherd-dogs passing by, scented about and scratched up the child, dragging it along to their masters by the leg and arm. Luys de Almanza was preaching in the city, and made inquisition: he detected one

[1] Bzovii Annales, apud Basnage.

of the culprits who had a red beard and hair [1]: this man, being tortured on the rack, confessed the horrid deed, also that they had burnt the child's heart to powder and drunk it in wine. The Jews, however, appealed to the king against the evidence that was elicited by torture,—the proceedings were suspended, and the man ultimately freed. The "Fortress of the Faith" attributes his rescue to bribes given to the king and the three judges, but appeals to the last great day when those judges will be judged.

Also in Toro, 1457, two children of about seven years of age, being in the fields, were pursued by two Jews: but fearing they should not have time to kill both, they only caught one, and cutting out a piece of his leg, fled with it to Zamora; but what they did with it is unknown.

Another child is said by Sepulveda to have been killed in 1458, and the criminals were punished by the bishop Don Juan Arias.

A tragical tale is related of the year 1491. At La Guardia, nine leagues from Toledo some Jews of that place, of Quintanar, and Tem-

[1] On the Continent, the people are taught by their church pictures that Judas Iscariot was distinguished from the rest of the apostles by his red beard and hair.

bleque, agreed to make up a witch-spell with a *hostia* and the heart of a child, for the purpose of poisoning Christian people, but especially the inquisitors of the holy office, so as to make them die raving mad. They struck down a child of three or four years old, and dragged him to a cavern near La Guardia, where they flogged him with five or six thousand stripes, then crucified him, and buried the body in a vineyard at a quarter of a league distance. They purchased a *hostia* from the sacristan of La Guardia, and this, together with the heart, was pounded into a powder, which they forwarded to the famous synagogue of Zamora, and one Benedict de las Mesuras placed some of it between the leaves of a prayer-book in the church; but a person approaching that book on a festival day, was astonished at beholding an irradiation around it, like a rainbow, or the colours of the evening sky. Notice being given to the inquisitors, their officials discovered the detestable plot: all those accused of the attempt were tortured, condemned, and burned at Avila. Neither the body nor heart of the child was found; but the *hostia* was (this is inconsistent with the rest of the story), and borne in solemn procession to the monastery of St. Thomas. One of the murderers, Fernando de Ribera of Tembleque, was not ap-

prehended till thirty years afterwards: he was then burnt, for having on that occasion enacted the part of Pilate, as the others had of the chief priests at the crucifixion; all of which he denied, but he avouched himself a Jew, as he had always been in his heart. Such is the history cited by Cardoso from three monkish authorities. A late traveller in Spain [1] mentions a fine painting in the cathedral of Toledo, which evidently represents this very transaction: a party of Jews are seen taking out the heart of a child during the agony of crucifixion, and the legend rehearsed by his attendant is precisely the same.

Another tale describes a Jew at Toro, carrying off a child under his cloak, and stopping the cries with his hand, until he reached home; but there, beginning to kill him, the screams alarmed some labourers in a neighbouring vineyard, who ran to inquire the cause. Receiving an unsatisfactory answer they denounced him to the magistrates: the cause was remitted to the king, but the termination is unknown [2].

In the reign of one of the Alonsos, the crowd assembled with a complaint to the king, that they had discovered a dead Christian in a Jew's house, who had no doubt killed him for the sake of his

[1] Year in Spain, ii. 38.

[2] Cardoso.

blood to drink; but at length the king got them to acknowledge that they had placed the corpse there, in order to raise an insurrection which might take vengeance for the death of Christ [1].

In the fourth year of the same or another Alonso, the alarm was spread at Ossuna near Seville, of a Christian corpse being found in the house of a Jew: the mob arose, and the Jews fled for refuge to such friendly Christians as would receive them in their houses; but even there were liable to die of hunger, as the season was passover, and their protectors had none but leavened bread. The same took place at Palma, and the synagogue deputed three of their leaders to appeal to the king. These were Abraham ben Benvenista, Joseph, ruler of Sanhedrim, and R. Samuel ben Shushan, lately the superintendant of synagogues in Egypt, but recently arrived in Castille with the honourable appellation of "Chief of our Captivity." These travelled as secretly as possible through woods and bye-roads, by which they were so much delayed that the accusers arrived first at court.

When the rabbis appeared, some proposed to apply the question by torture; but R. Joseph, who spoke for the rest, declared, that in that case, they

[1] "Sceptre of Judah."

would certainly confess themselves guilty of any crime laid to their charge. One present affirmed, that by the ancient laws of the country, all torture upon trial was prohibited; and the king related how at the beginning of his reign he had lost two vessels of gold, and the theft was laid to two Jewish brothers, Judas and Samuel Onkoa, who, being put to the question, acknowledged the crime, and were hanged; yet three days afterwards those vessels were found in possession of one of his courtiers. Whence, he said, it is clear that men will make any declaration, be the consequences what they may, to gain relief from excessive pain. So the king proposed to employ a more effectual instrument for ascertaining the truth, a reward of so many pieces of gold; when it was found that one Juan de la Vera, with some friends, had disinterred this body, substituting a large stone in the grave to prevent the sinking of the earth, and cast it into the house of the Jew, to whom he owed money which he could not repay.

Another such instance was defeated by the king's interference. The crowd assembled before the palace windows, demanding justice. According to the "Sceptre of Judah," the monarch summoned some Jews, and asked their interpre-

[1] "Sceptre of Judah.'

tation of Psalm cxxi. 4. They said, that it was generally understood to mean, "He shall not sleep, much less shall he slumber, that keepeth Israel;" but the king rendered it, "He shall neither slumber, nor suffer him to sleep, that keepeth Israel:" and to prove the correctness of his version, he related, that the previous night he had got no rest, but arose and looked out of the window by moonlight, when he saw some men carrying a burden like the body of a man; that he dispatched three servants to watch their proceedings, and that these perceived from a dark corner, that the object was a corpse, and they recognized the features of the men. The servants were produced, and gave as reasons for not apprehending the parties: 1. That they had no command to do so; 2. That they were unarmed; 3. That the body was hastily thrown into the house of a Jew. So judgment was given, and the people retired.

"In the time of good king Alonso the Great," some men reported that they had seen a Christian enter a Jew's house on the first day of passover, and presently afterwards heard a cry for help. The magistrates sent to examine the place, but found no Christian there; they therefore blamed the people for bringing such idle tales before them. Appeal was made to the king; he summoned the accused Jew, who denied all know-

ledge of the circumstance; and Alonso was of opinion, that the accusers were morally guilty of the murder, if there were any, for not having gone immediately to the rescue. The next day they returned with witnesses to swear to the allegations. So the king resolved to investigate it thoroughly. The Jew's name and residence was written down. The Christian's name was given as Pedro Guzman, and his features were described; the wife of the deceased was Beatrice, a servant to a certain bishop. When sent for, she deposed that her husband was from home, having gone to make some inquiries of a Jew. The others declared that they had met her husband at that Jew's door, and being acquainted with him, they had conversed with him; but the Jew coming home, took him in to an inner room, and they presently heard his screams for help: that they leaped in at the window, but found not their friend in the house, only the floor was wet with blood. Then it was thought proper to apply the torture: the accused, after enduring great suffering, confessed that he had killed the man and thrown him into the river. He was sentenced to be burned alive; but just as the warrant was being read over, the aforesaid bishop chanced to enter, and he inquired into the business. But so far from Guzman having been killed on the first

day of passover, he had seen him alive yesterday in a suburban village. A party was sent to bring him forward, including one Jew, lest the others of the party should induce Guzman to abscond; and the man was produced alive. The king was surprised that the Jew should have criminated himself, so as to incur the penalty of death; but the latter declared that he had done so, that an end might be made to the tortures by which he was treated worse than a murderer[1].

For a few years before and after 1400, a pestilence raged throughout Europe, so fearful in its effects, as to be commonly denominated "the black death." During the general panic, a notion was rapidly propagated that the mortality was caused by the Jews poisoning the springs and fountains; others averred that they had witnessed the Jews by moonlight, muttering incantations and casting deleterious drugs into the rivers and running streams. Thousands of lives were sacrificed to this cruel fiction, as well in Catalonia, as in Germany and France.

Thus were the faithful people taught to shudder at Jewish society, as involving every thing that is loathsome and inhuman. No deeds could be more inconsistent with their religious feelings

[1] "Sceptre of Judah."

and practices, than the sanguinary passovers thus ascribed to them by monks, bishops, judges, and inquisitors, nay even referred to in the royal code of the "Siete Partidas;" (vii. 24. 2.) but the recital of such wilful and barbarous calumnies, detestable as they may appear, though forged in what are called dark ages, will hardly prepare our minds for their repetition in the nineteenth century, or for the horrifying events of the present day in Rhodes and Damascus. The early Christians were accused of similar atrocities. Tertullian, Justin Martyr, and Origen assure us, that the heathen public believed the Christians to kill children at their eucharistical assemblies, when every person present dipped his bread in the blood. Christianity has by its ascendancy happily demonstrated the wickedness of these charges, but the Jews have yet scarcely attained so high a standing as from it to confound their calumniators.

CHAPTER XXII.

MEANS FOR CONVERSION OF JEWS, USED IN THE THIRTEENTH AND FOURTEENTH CENTURIES.

To a mind deeply convinced of the reality of the Gospel's claim, and influenced by its sanctions, it must have been painful to witness the fact of so great a population "denying the Lord who bought them." A haughty clergy must have also found it a serious annoyance to have their authority checked and defied to so wide an extent. Persons in either of these classes, reflecting on the multitudinous conversions in the apostolic age, and the more recent christenings of whole heathen nations simultaneously, would wish and expect to gain similar results from preaching to the Jews, backed by other modes of argument: but they overlooked the difference between a bar-

barian chief[1], when baptized by his wife's persuasion, compelling his people to exchange their unsettled superstitions for a religion fixed and authoritative—and an influence over Jews, equal at least to themselves in civilization, of literary habits, versed in the original of the Old Testament, and bound by the strongest incentives and prejudices not to be converted. The usual repugnance of Jews to be troubled at all in matters of religion, when the design is apparent to subvert their paternal principles, may be seen in the following legend, whether true or not, in the "Sceptre of Judah."

"King Peter the Great, of Aragon, desired to know of a learned Jew which religion was the best, the Christian or the Hebrew? He answered, 'Ours is the best for us who have served a hard bondage in Egypt, and were brought out by great signs and wonders of the mighty hand of God: but your religion is the best for you, who are blest with freedom and dominion.' The king, little satisfied with this evasion, requested to have his question answered simply on the merits of the religions themselves. The sage begged three days for consideration; at the expiration of which time,

[1] Clovis, Ethelbert, &c.

he returned, apparently vexed at some ill-usage recently received, and entreating the king to judge his cause. 'My neighbour,' said he, 'departing on a journey about a month since, gave to each of his two sons a rich jewel to console them for his absence. The brothers came to me with their treasures, to decide their dispute as to which was the most valuable. I referred them to the practised skill of their own father upon this point; but the youths became angry at my moderate counsel, which favoured neither side, and proceeded to revile and strike me.' The king sympathized with the old man, and promised him redress. But he then replied, 'Beware, O king, lest thou slay thyself with thine own sword. Esau and Jacob were brethren; a jewel was given to each, and thou hast inquired of me which of these jewels is the most precious. I refer thee to our heavenly Parent, the great Giver of treasures, who will surely and exactly determine the value of the respective gems.' The king was pleased with his ingenious parable: but the sentiment of neutral equality in matters of everlasting moment becomes neither a devotional Jew, nor a practical Christian."

About the middle of the next reign in Aragon was published the following:—

"PRIVILEGIUM.

"Be it known unto all men that we, James, by the grace of God, king of Aragon, Valencia, &c. for ourselves and our successors in Aragon, Catalonia, Majorca, and Montpellier, as well as the kingdom of Valencia, and all our dominion and jurisdiction which we now anywhere possess, or hereafter we or our successors, by the help of God, shall obtain, do hereby for the love of our Lord Jesus Christ, and his glorious Virgin mother, and for our salvation, decree for ever, that whatsoever Jew or Saracen, by the grace of the Holy Spirit, shall desire to accept the orthodox faith, and washing of saving baptism, he may do so freely and without any condition soever, any statute of our predecessors, or of any other person notwithstanding, or any prohibition, or covenant, or custom hitherto held, so as to be a loser upon that account in any of his goods moveable, immoveable, or portable by himself: but he may have, hold, or possess by our authority, together with the legal right of the children and relatives of the said convert in such manner, namely, that the said children or relatives shall claim nothing from the property of the said convert during his life time, and at his death shall claim to that amount, and no more, which they might reason-

ably claim if he had apostatized to Judaism or Paganism; that like as those who are withdrawn from such religions are partakers of divine grace, so they may partake of ours, which we ought to conform to the will and benevolence of God.

"Given at Lerida, 15th March, 1242."

Strange that such a proclamation should be needed; but it was evidently a preparatory step to further measures. The confessor of this monarch was Raymond de Pennaforte, General of the Dominicans, a person of sufficient importance to have been frequently entrusted with missions to the court of Rome. His influence he now employed in remonstrating against all such proceedings as tended rather to harass (and so to harden) the Jews than to convert them. He recommended rather

> "By winning words to conquer human hearts,
> And make persuasion do the work of fear[1]."

For this object he advised to train a certain number of students in the Hebrew and Arabic languages, and that Thomas Aquinas should compose a treatise for the especial cause of Jewish instruction. All this was done; and in further-

[1] "Paradise Regained."

ance of the same good end, the king summoned an assembly of the most learned Jews and Christians to argue their points of difference in his own palace at Barcelona, A.D. 1250. The leader of the Jews was R. Moses bar Nahhman, the celebrated Cabalist; and of his opponents, a monk named Paul. Each side has claimed the victory: the Christians procured an edict to facilitate their future operations, and Bar Nahhman has published in Hebrew the Acts of the Conference, at the end of which he writes—"The day afterwards I approached the king, and entreated leave to return to my own city. He replied, 'Return to thy city, and live in health and security;' and he gave me three hundred pieces of gold for the journey: thus was I dismissed by him in great kindness. May the Lord make us both to share in everlasting life. Amen. Selah. These are the answers of R. Moses bar Nahhman to Paul the heretic, in presence of the king; and every thing is related as it occurred[1]." R. Ghedaliah aben Jahhiia declares[2], that his people gained so much honour from the event, that the pope blamed the monk

[1] Since translated by Wagenseil, in "Tela ignea Satanæ." The narrative appears to have been tampered with by some German Jews (Basnage).

[2] "Chain of Tradition," p. 253.

who had conducted the dispute, and the king for the countenance afforded.

Raymond Martin, who had taken a share in the transaction, was associated the next year with Raymond de Pennaforte and the Bishop of Barcelona, to search for blasphemies in the Jewish books: and soon appeared "The Dagger of the Faith," the mightiest controversial work upon Hebrew religion that had ever been produced. It has since been lost for nearly three centuries, but when recovered, it was still regarded as a respectable performance for its time, and many writers have borrowed from it, both Roman Catholic and Protestant. The arguments are threefold.

1. Against those without law—as the heathen.
2. Against the Jews, under the law.
3. To prove that all the Christian peculiarities are found in Moses and the prophets.

Hebrew quotations abound in it; but Basnage considers the work unfit for conviction of the understanding, since it charges the Jews with what they do not hold, and its reasoning is feeble and exaggerated.

Raymond de Pennaforte is allowed by all, to have gained the esteem of the Jews by his kindly conduct; but no calculation is made of his success in converting them, although from among the Mo-

hammedans he is said to have baptized above ten thousand; besides that the African Moors testified their willingness to follow the good example. The miracles related of him are astonishing, both for their number and power; and he has since been canonized as a saint.

James II. of Aragon continued the missionary efforts made by his father, and in 1297, a new invitation was made to the Jews and Saracens, assuring to them the free possession of goods, and denouncing severe punishments to every person, of what religion, rank, or degree soever, that should revile a convert as a turncoat, renegade, &c.

"We also desire and ordain, that the brethren of the order of preachers (the Dominicans) do offer the word of God to the Jews and Saracens of both sexes, by preaching, arguments, conversation, or declaration of the Christian faith. These shall assemble at their call, and listen without interruption to the preaching. Also, to avoid the possibility of their suppressing the conviction of truth by stubborn silence, they shall reverently answer to the interrogations or objections of the said brethren; they shall also be compelled, when desired, to give access to their books for the investigation of any matters, that so the truth may be the better sifted bv a mutual exhibition and col-

lation of writings, and thus be brought to more open light.

—"We desire moreover, that if any new converts shall refuse or neglect to attend the preachings, admonitions, or corrections of the said brethren, they are to be punished as may be necessary, by magistrates, constables, or any other of our officers then present, according to the sentence of the said brethren, with corporeal or any other punishment.

"Given at Valencia, 18th Dec. 1297."

How ingenious was the Spanish Church in contrivances to leave the least possible degree of reality with the nominal freedom of the will! The Dominican order, expressly a society of preachers, had been called into existence for the suppression of Albigensian heresy, but the transition was easily made to all other impugners of the dominant Church. The proceedings above prescribed formed but a single step beyond the late king's disputation in the palace. But imagine two or three of these black friars, attended by a posse-comitatus and armed with scourges, proclaiming their arrival at the market-cross of a town by sound of bell, as St. Fras. Xavier used to do in India; summoning the parish priests to produce the register of Jews there resident, and then that of all the new

converts, dispatching the police to collect the persons thus enrolled. They arrive, and dare not seem dissatisfied; the crowd encloses them near the preachers, who commence by the Ave Maria [1], and proceed to lecture, dispute, and catechize. Does one refuse or hesitate to answer the artfully suggested questions which lead to what he considers blasphemy? the impending whip reminds him that subtilty is seconded by brute force. And this was termed the work of conversion.

"Alas! Leviathan is not so tamed."

Discussion was indeed permitted in form, but this demands equality, and equality is lost when the thong appears.

The schism of the Romish papacy began to engross the attention of Europe in 1400; and after fourteen years the council of Constance was convened, to put an end to the scandal of three infallible popes excommunicating each other. But a few months before its first session, one of these three, Pedro de Luna, bearing the title of Benedict XIII. being for a time on his paternal possessions at Tortosa in Aragon, undertook to

[1] As still done in Rome. See Jer. xliv. 17, &c.

do something in the papal style; for he assembled a solemn convocation of the chief Spanish rabbis on one side, and of Christians versed in Hebrew on the other, ostensibly to hear one Jerome of holy faith, (previously named Joshua Lorki,) a converted Jew of high reputation, demonstrate to the rabbis, from the Talmud itself, that the Messiah was already come. The learned Jews were to be permitted to reply. This encounter the latter dreaded so much, as to bribe several of the bishops to induce the antipope to change his purpose; for, independent of the merits of the controversy, they knew too well that there was danger in the collision of Jews with ecclesiastical power. But Benedict persevered for his dignity's sake.

The Christian champion was aided by Garci Alvarez of Alarcon, one who had already distinguished himself in the same career; and Andrew Beltran, D.D. the almoner to Benedict, also a convert from Judaism, who for his piety as well as acquirements was made bishop of Barcelona. To his knowledge of Hebrew and Chaldee all references of disputed meanings were to be submitted.

The Jewish respondents were:—

From Zaragoza.

1. Zachariah the Levite [1].
2. Don Vidal ben Benvenista.

From Alcoja (or Alcaves).

3. Joseph ben Addereth.
4. Don Meir Galigon.

From Monzon.

5. Joseph the Levite.
6. Jom Tob Carcosa.

From Malieset (or Velesa.)

7. Joseph Albalegh.
8. Hhacham Bongoza.
9. Todros ben Jehhiia, of Gerona.

10. *From Huesca.*—Todros of Constantinople.
11. *From Daroca.*—Abu Nestrok.
12. *From Monreal.*—Joseph Albo.
13. *From Montalban.*—Abu Ganda.
14. Samuel the Levite.
15. Moses ben Moses.
16. Matathias Izahari Macaltiob, the chief, or nasi. These assembling at Rome (as they style

[1] Not to be confounded with one of the same name in the eleventh century.

the papal court), were received with great tokens of friendship, and had lodgings, with abundant provisions such as their religion approved, prepared for them at the antipope's expense. They were somewhat alarmed at the very outset, by observing a secretary write down their names and places of abode; but Benedict assured them that his only object in having this done was to serve for compiling the public registration of the proceedings. The Jews had previously selected Vidal ben Benvenista for a leader, as well for his profound erudition, as for his fluency in speaking Latin; and they had agreed among themselves to use great moderation of language, not reviling even the most worthless opponent, only to exhort him not to ruin his own soul.

The meetings were continued for several months, and whenever the antipope was not himself present, his place was occupied by the general of the Dominicans. At the close of all, a report was drawn up and published by authority, asserting that the rabbis were so far vanquished, that R. Asmuth presented to cardinal Angelo a paper, disavowing all the passages in the Talmud which they could not defend, signed by all present except R. Albo and R. Ferrer. But the Jewish account says nothing of this, and the names of Asmuth and Ferrer do not occur in the list of respondents.

The following details are extracted from the epistle of Abu Nestrok to the synagogue of Gerona.

On their arrival, Benedict addressed them thus: "Men of the honoured Hebrew race, the people whom God selected, though now cast off on account of transgression. Fear nothing in this disputation, when I the pope bid you be of good courage. None shall injure or molest you, but speak freely and boldly for your cause, repressing and fearing nothing. Jerome has boasted to me his capability of proving, even from your Talmud, that Messiah is come. Fear not in disputing with him, but freely open your minds, because in a controversy, both parties ought to enjoy an equal right of speech, and be accounted on equal standing." On their retiring for that day, some were captivated by this benignity, but the elders of the party found in it the more cause for apprehension. The next day they found the hall of audience crowded with gay courtiers, and seventy seats in a row, occupied by bishops, cardinals, and nobles. The antipope again addressed them, and with this suitable caution. "Ye learned Hebrews, understand that I am not come hither to discuss which religion is true, yours or ours; for I am certain that mine is the best founded. Your law was of old the only and true law, but it is now abrogated. Ye are summoned hither

solely by Jerome, who has promised to demonstrate to you that Messiah is come, from the evidence of the Talmud, which was composed by rabbis far surpassing yourselves in wisdom: therefore take heed to your arguments." Then, turning to Jerome, he bade him commence, which he did by reading from the first chapter of Isaiah, "Come now, let us reason together, saith the Lord: but if ye refuse and rebel, ye shall be devoured by the sword, for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it." At which Benvenista made an eloquent address in Latin, to deprecate so unfair and cruel a beginning. Benedict confessed that Jerome had behaved with great impropriety, but was to be excused, inasmuch as he had acquired his rudeness from early Jewish education. Then Samuel the Levite, as a set-off against Jerome's text, made use of Ps. lxxxv. 7. "Shew us thy mercy, O Lord, and grant us thy salvation;" and frequently during the progress of the disputation, in times of special alarm, they cited this verse. They entreated to be released from further proceedings, as they were not accustomed to scholastic logic, but in vain; so they spent that evening in public synagogue, praying the Lord to enlighten their minds, that they might avoid provoking the lion's anger: and Zachariah the Levite preached a sermon "so pro-

found that none could keep up with his reasoning without consulting the speaker himself." He ended with prayer.

In the next day's argument they took merit to themselves for resisting the seduction of so much wealth and honour as was lavished in their sight, to desert the law which had been given by God himself amid great miracles to six hundred thousand persons at once; and ventured to say, that *they* had no ambition to be made bishops. On the fifth day they were again in consternation, on finding that the secretaries wrote down their replies: they were apprehensive of their words being mis-stated, and on some future occasion being produced against them. They agreed therefore to speak, only one person to each point, and then, if his answer gave offence, they could affirm that it was but his individual sentiment, not that of the whole body. The next day, Jerome stumbled in his argument, and conceded, against his will, an important point, for which the Jews had contended. The latter embraced this opportunity of offering to withdraw from the debate altogether, but Benedict was of opinion that Jerome was now more than ever bound to persist in his object.

On the seventh day of meeting, the portion of the Law appointed to be read, was Deut. xxv. 17. to the end: and it may have been under the force

of its application to present circumstances that Abu Nestrok, in reply to the antipope himself, unguardedly exclaimed, that while Christians believed so many absurdities respecting the person and offices of Messiah, they might be allowed to entertain one opinion on that subject, which to their opponents seemed absurd. This excited great anger in the court, which the rabbis had to allay by disclaiming all share in the speaker's error, and pleading for that kindness which, at the beginning, had offered them free leave of speech: but returning home they blamed their imprudent champion with much severity.

The next day they met with unusual favour, and contested from the Talmud, Jerome's next point, that Messiah was not only born but also revealed. But here the report is brought to a close in the "Sceptre of Judah," as the rest of the epistle was said to be torn off and lost.

When the affair was terminated, the Dominican missionaries set to work, and the chroniclers tell us, that by some means or other, their conversions were prodigious in number: two hundred in the synagogues of Zaragoza, Calatayud, and Alcañiz, especially one Todros Benvenista with his family of seven; one hundred and twenty *families* at Daroca, Fraga, and Balbastro, and all the synagogues of Alcañiz, Caspe, and Maella in a body,

as many as five hundred persons, besides the synagogues of Lerida, Tamarit, and Alcolea, "and above all, they seemed to be genuine: and it was hoped that conversions would increase every day, not only in Aragon, but in all parts of Spain[1]." An undoubted result of this famous conference, was the promulgation of the following constitutions by the antipope.

1. All Jewish books are to be burned, agreeably to the bulls of Gregory IX. and Innocent IV; except such as may be available in any controversy, and these, of course, to be kept by the church.

2. Revilings of Christianity and the Saints to be punished.

3. No new synagogues to be erected, nor more than one to be tolerated in any city, and to this one, only one door to be allowed, namely the worst one then existing.

4. Their exclusive magistracy no longer permitted.

5. No public offices or magistracies to be held by Jews.

6. No Jew to keep a Christian servant for lighting fires or preparing food upon the Sabbath, nor any Jew to offer a Christian unleavened bread, or such food as Jews refuse to eat.

[1] Zurita.

7. No Jews to practise as physicians, surgeons, or brokers, and no Church ornaments to be placed in Jewish hands, either for making, repairing, or by way of pledge.

8. All Jews to wear a badge of red or yellow; to be worn by men on the breast, and by women on the forehead. Also to reside in Jewries.

9. To practise no money lending, either under pretence of sale, or in the name of a third party, or by overstating the principal; nor to induce the debtor to take oath before an ecclesiastical judge that he will repay it by a certain day, so as to incur excommunication if he fail. And all such bonds then in hand to be quashed.

10. The baptized may inherit the goods of their unconverted parents, *i. e.* shall not be disinherited on that account.

11. All Jews above twelve years of age to assemble thrice a year to hear sermons on the principal articles of holy faith, viz. on the second Sunday in Advent, on Easter Monday, and on that day when the gospel lesson is read, "When he drew nigh unto Jerusalem he wept over it," &c. The first of these sermons to be in proof that Christ is come, the second in condemnation of the Talmud and all other books which obscure the Scriptures, the third to show the fulfilment of prophecy in the destruction of Jerusalem, and to

close with the reading of this Constitution. The proclamation concludes thus:—"It is agreeable to religion and Christian mildness to defend the Jews against persecutions; they are to be suffered to grow until the harvest, lest believers should root up the unripe corn while thinking to eradicate the tares. For there is need of more mildness than asperity with them, because those whom Christian benignity might bring into the right way, an inhuman harshness will drive to perdition."

> "Given at Valencia in the province of Tarragon, 28th of May; and of our Pontificate the XXI year."

This edict was sent to all parts of Spain, and one copy of it is still preserved in the Cathedral of Toledo [1]. Among the trustworthy persons commissioned to carry its provisions into effect was a *son* of Don Paul, bishop of Carthagena, a convert from Judaism by means of the argumentation in Thomas Aquinas—this son holding at the time several lucrative offices, and becoming afterwards bishop of Placencia [2].

But in process of time this Benedict was voted to be but an antipope, and when his popularity failed, and king Ferdinand died, the constitutions fell into oblivion.

[1] Mariana. [2] Zurita.

The conference gave rise to many controversial works. R. Joseph Albo almost immediately drew up his celebrated "Book of Principles," a summary of the Jewish creed; R. Vidal ben Levi wrote the "Holy of Holies," on the same side; and R. Isaac Nathan the "Censure of the Seducer[1]," *i. e.* Jerome of Holy Faith, but who had died before this was written; also the "Defence of Isaac:"—other such productions are found in the lists of writings by the rabbis of that period. On the other side, Paul of Burgos, or Carthagena, wrote the "Scrutiny of Scripture," a supposed dialogue with one Saul, a Jew; and "Notable Additions to Nicolai de Lyra," (another Jewish convert) on the evidence of Scripture.

The most energetic of the Dominicans was Vincent Ferrer of Valencia, whose proceedings in this career have earned him canonization and extravagant honours from his Church. By his assiduous preaching he is said to have converted eight thousand Moors, and thirty-five thousand Jews, besides incredible numbers of wicked Christians; but this is less to be marvelled at, since he wrought all

[1] During the debate, the Jews uniformly designated him the "Epicurean," a Talmudic appellation; and the "Sceptre of Judah" remarks, with a peculiarly Jewish satisfaction, that the initials, in Hebrew, of Master Geronimo de (Santa) Fé, exactly form the word which signifies a "calumniator."

kinds of miracles; and, "singular grace! bestowed on him only since the Apostles," though he preached but in his native tongue, the French, Italians and others could understand him perfectly. In the bishopric of Valencia almost all the Jews became Christians. These being chiefly land-holders, and, in consequence of baptism, exempt from tithes and other imposts, the Bishop's income was so reduced as to compel him to make application to the king for relief. A fixed income was then ensured to him upon the royal revenues, and the king's charter to that effect is still to be seen[1]. Cardoso estimates the conversions made by Vincent Ferrer at fifteen thousand, Zurita at twenty thousand, Jews and Moors. The account in the Juhhassin is,—"In the year 172 (Hebrew reckoning), there was a calamity inflicted by a certain monk named Vincent, who caused the law to be changed by more than two hundred thousand Jews;" and in the "Chain of Tradition," p. 115, "There arose one Fr. Vincent, of Valencia, of the Dominican order, and some say he was an apostate . . . . . he excited all the inhabitants of the land against the Jews: they plundered them of their substance to the uttermost, and burned all the sacred books in the fire, as well as the syna-

[1] Mariana.

gogues and academies of our illustrious forefathers of blessed memory."

A curious insight into the cause and effect of Jewish baptisms in the fifteenth century is afforded by a MS. still extant in Rome. It purports to be a solemn exhortation from R. Periphot Duran to his son Boneto, that he should no longer imitate his forefathers, but embrace Christianity. Yet the whole epistle is so equivocally worded, that it may be read entirely to the opposite effect: R. Duran and his son reverted to Judaism in four years after, as did thousands of similar converts, till the Church, alarmed at the extensive defection, procured a Bull from Sixtus IV., commanding all inquisitors and Christian princes to take care that the Church received no detriment. The consequence was, that seventeen thousand Hebrews resumed their catholicity, and two thousand were burned alive as convicted recusants.

Such were the efforts made for reducing the Jews to obedience. The means employed were: argumentative conferences in a spirit of professing candour, but backed by courtly splendour and a compliant civil authority; the burning of Jewish books; sermon preaching, accompanied by popular massacres, and the inquisition. The ancient gothic persecutions had manifestly failed of their purpose.

——————"Who overcomes
By force, hath overcome but half his foe[1]."

And these proceedings did no less so, for in 1492 there were three times more overt Jews in Spain than in 710, besides baptized dissemblers. It may surely now be said that the Romish Church has done its utmost in this cause, and no more will she ever perform till her corruptions are cast

[1] Paradise Regained.—It has been often pronounced by persons contentedly ignorant of facts, that the Protestant conversions by means of the Bible, and nothing but the Bible, have been equally few and insignificant—but we have sufficient testimony from a competent witness that such is not the truth. Professor Tholuck, of Halle, declared in 1835,—"It is an undoubted matter of fact, that more proselytes have been made during the last twenty years than since the first ages of the Church. No one can deny it on the Continent, and no one, I am sure, will deny it. Not only in Germany, but also in Poland there has been the most astonishing success, and I can bear testimony to what has come under my own observation in the capital of Silesia, my native place, where many conversions have taken place. . . . . In the university of Breslaw there are three professors who were formerly Israelites; a professor of philology, a professor of chemistry, and a professor of philosophy; there is besides a clergyman who professes the Gospel, and he was a Jew. In my present station at Halle there are no less than five professors, formerly Jews, one of medicine, one of mathematics, one of law, and two of philology. . . . I might show that some of the Jewish conversions have taken place amongst men of the highest literary attainment. . . . These are all persons of the highest scientific reputation, and now faithful followers of our Lord Jesus Christ.

"to the moles and to the bats," and the Jews shall see a Catholic Christianity without idols or saint-worship, without the doctrine that the ever-living God had a mother, or the infinite reproduction of deity out of paste for the people to eat. We trust that better days are now upon the dawning, that although hitherto the prophecies have been strictly accomplished, "Ye shall be gathered one by one, ye children of Israel[1]!" and "I will take you, one of a city, and two of a family, and bring you to Zion[2]," yet that by advancing liberality and open friendliness, together with diffusion of Christian literature suited for the purpose, all under God's especial blessing; Israel may yet be gathered, not in crowds by violence, but by progressive inroads of Scripture and its Holy Author, "and so all Israel shall be saved, as it is written."

[1] Isa. xxvii. 12. [2] Jer. iii. 14.

CHAPTER XXIII.

EVENTS IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY—THE INQUISITION.

In an insurrection at Toledo in 1419 it was demanded that even the converted Jews and their descendants *for ever* should be excluded from every dignity and public employment. This too was conceded by the overawed court, in violation of Siete Partidas vii. 24, 6. until the dean of the cathedral and pope Nicholas V. by dint of persevering fulmination, succeeded in removing so cruel a restriction. It was however resumed in thirty years afterwards. No country in Europe can produce so many instances of the kings and nobles being ruled by the ignorant multitude at the instigation of preaching friars. This is a necessary result of the extraordinary national temperament. But it is nevertheless strange, that these frequent and perilous tumults, with ex-

tensive massacres, despite the Papal Bulls, and canonical decrees regarding the Jews, should neither be prevented nor punished. The council of Tortosa in 1429, entreated, "by the bowels of the divine mercy," that the king of Aragon, the prelates, barons, knights, and universities, would preserve the Jews from violence; and from this time, about thirty years elapsed without an insurrection against the Jews.

Alphonsus de Spina was a celebrated preacher of the fifteenth century, and generally his efforts were crowned with such success as he desired; but, on one occasion, feeling depressed in spirit at the unknown results of his labours for a considerable period, and leaning against a well, he heard a voice which bade him lower the bucket into the water. He obeyed, and on its withdrawal, was amazed to find in it, twenty-four white pebbles, each inscribed with the name of Jesus. Now as he had lately preached twenty-four sermons in Valladolid on the name of Jesus, he had no doubt that these pebbles expressed the Saviour's approbation of those very sermons. So he had twelve of the stones set in a silver cross, and the remaining twelve he presented to the queen. This incident is said to have strengthened him exceedingly in his faith and "labour of love." There is yet extant a large controversial book by this Alphon-

sus, called the " Fortress of the Faith," consisting of five divisions.

1. The Fortress in itself.

2. The Fortress as assaulted by Heretics.

3. The Fortress as assaulted by Jews.

4. The Fortress as assaulted by Mohammedans.

5. The Fortress as assaulted by Devils.

But the fortress of Christian Faith can never be effectually defended by silly legends, pseudo miraculous legends, and injurious falsehoods. This book, from its extent, not from the discriminative judgment of its author, must have demanded years of laborious writing.

During an intestine warfare of the nobles in Castille, the favourite minister of king Henry IV. was the Jew Abraham Benvenista, who for two years had been the sole negociator between the crowns of Aragon and Castille. He was taken prisoner at Tudela, and considered a prize of no small importance.

About 1463, the profligate conduct of both Henry and his queen, induced the nobles to call in the aid or counsel of the kings of Aragon and Portugal. Henry, in alarm, invited Louis XI. of France to meet him on the Bidassoa frontier, there to concert a co-operation in his favour. The Castilian court approached in the utmost

magnificence of costume: the French king in his usual mean apparel, which gave as much offence, as did the stern rebuke of Louis, for Henry's licentiousness and folly.

The Castilian had a Jew named Gaon for his financial minister. He, during the kingly interview, had been ordered by his master to levy taxes in Guipuzcoa and Biscay. Now it is well known, that in those northern provinces, every man, however humble his station, is an *hidalgo* or nobleman; and of all the old Spanish constitutions, theirs was, and is the most free. The only taxation they recognized, was under the name of *Pedido*, which, as its name denotes, was *requested;* and it lay with them to grant or refuse it as they thought fit. They acknowledged no monarch, only the king of Castille was styled lord of Biscay, on condition of swearing to certain conditions under the oak tree at Guernica. The charters by which they claim these immunities, are called the Biscayan Fueros.

The Jew came to demand the Pedido in the sovereign's name, without previous notice or permission, and the hidalgos slew him on the spot. The enraged Henry sent envoys to Tolosa, requiring the immediate surrender of the aggressor: this was peremptorily refused, and, collecting their armed forces on the steep hills command-

ing the town, the Biscayans returned this answer[1].

"The Basques are the representatives of the Iberian nation. For Spanish freedom they lavished their blood against Carthage, against the Romans, and against the Goths. They restored Spain by expelling the Moors who had conquered it from the barbarians. The struggles of the Basques against the caliphs of the west lasted for more than six centuries. The little country of Castille scarcely existed when our nation, dwelling in the Pyrenæan mountains, counted many centuries of glory and enterprise. In acknowledgment of the services which we have rendered to Castille, we claim to be allowed peaceably to enjoy our lives and liberties, the inheritance which our forefathers preserved to us at the expense of so much blood and so many glorious labours. If, however, the Castilians behave ungratefully and unjustly towards us, they shall learn at their own cost, who were and still are their masters in the art of war, and their mountain liberators. As regards the Pedido unjustly demanded of us, and as touching the death of the Jew, know that the intrepid Guipuzcoan who killed *the publican* deserved well of his country. Tell this to king Henry! Return, and bid him

[1] "Portugal and Gallicia, 1836," vol. ii. ch .13. Copied from an old Biscayan manuscript.

remember that one of the fundamental laws of our people, runs thus: 'We ordain, that if any one, whether native or foreigner, shall coerce any man, woman, people, village, or town of Guipuzcoa, by virtue of a mandate from our *lord* the king of Castille, which has not previously been agreed to and sanctioned by the general assembly; or whosoever violates our rights, laws, charters, and privileges, shall be disobeyed, and if he persists, killed!'"

Tolosa is a place of strong natural defence, and the Castilians retired.

At Segovia there was a violent excitement created by the preaching of two rival friars; the one affirming, and the other denying that many Christians had lately Judaized. The aim of which assertion was levelled at the common intercourse of Jews with the court and nobles. Mariana says, it was denied only "out of complaisance to princes, for it was rather true."

At Cordova, D. Mena wrote a pastoral satire on the times; in which he represents three flocks grazing promiscuously, under, 1. A stuttering shepherd (Moses). 2. Mecco Moro (Mohammed). And, 3. Christoval Mexia (the true shepherd). This medley of infidelity and truth he rebukes in the tone of an Inquisitor.

King John of Aragon was 71 years of age in 1468, and blind with cataract in both eyes. A

Jew named Abiabar, native of Lerida, undertook the cure. This practitioner combined his medical skill with the science of astrology, and on the 11th of September the configuration of the planetary scheme being pronounced favourable, he succeeded in cutting out the cataract from the right eye, and the venerable king was immediately enabled to see. Abiabar was probably too much excited with the effort, to repeat the delicate operation immediately, and to the monarch's request he replied, that the whole transaction surpassed human talents, but depended on the aspect of the stars, and these would not be propitious for a considerable time to come. The excuse was accepted for the time, but as the king grew impatient, the experiment was made upon the left eye on the 12th of October, and proved successful. This eminent performance, in which so high a trust was committed to a Jew, in defiance of often repeated church canons, and by him triumphantly discharged, must have had a beneficial effect upon his people, at least during this reign, which lasted eleven years longer.

But in Sicily (now an Aragonese possession) a massacre of Jews took place in 1474: five hundred persons in one Jewry, and six hundred in another, were put to the *knife*, besides every individual in those of Noto and Modica. It has been ascribed

to the hardihood of certain Jews, who ventured to give reasons against the catholic faith. At its outbreak the viceroy, in order to appease the tumult, had six of the accused put to death; these the multitude deemed far from sufficient, but flew to arms, and, as usual in such cases, were repaid by a large plunder for the vindication of their religion.

The Aragonese king John had, during a long and feeble reign, disgusted his subjects by the patronage afforded to Jews and Troubadours. The Castilian reign of Henry IV. (of whom Herreras says, that "his life was a mirror, in which princes may see every thing which they ought to avoid,") could not but be likewise feeble. But the heir of the former wedded the heiress of the latter, and under these (Ferdinand and Isabella) two of the four kingdoms in the Peninsula were united. Unlike their parents, these sovereigns were ambitious and skilful politicians. They began by absorbing into the crown those great feudalities, the grand-masterships of Santiago, Calatrava, and Alcantara: and thus every impediment being removed from an effective rule over their Christian domains, they bent their most earnest endeavours to the acquisition of that gem of territories, the kingdom of Granada. The glory of the Moors had long been on the decline, their

frontier contracted, the rich crops and orchards of the Vega often burned in their sight, and tributes of gold exacted. To complete their ruin, there ensued a sanguinary competition for the throne; and as he marked these dissensions, "I will pluck out the seeds one by one from the *pomegranate*!" said the cold calculator Ferdinand; and thenceforward was commenced that ten years' war, whose details have furnished materials for the historian and the poet of every Christian language, and every subsequent age.

On the capture of Malaga in 1485, Ferdinand had twelve of the Jews whom he found there put to death with pointed reeds, a refinement of lingering cruelty, only employed by the Moors upon criminals convicted of treason against the person of a monarch. The other Jews he had burned[1].

At the ultimate crisis of Spanish Mohammedanism, the siege of Granada itself, instead of an encampment for the army, a Christian town was built; and to meet the enormous expenses of this undertaking, the sovereigns made a general taxation of the Jews throughout Spain, to be levied by synagogues and districts, and paid in at Seville, the 10th of February 1491. "This," says Garibay[2], "being the last exaction made from the Jews,

[1] Llorente, Histoire de l'Inquisition, i. 263.

[2] Compendio Historal.

because very soon afterwards they were all banished." This latter clause is no exaggeration, for in seventeen months more, several hundred thousand men, women, and children, were driven from their native land, simply for being Jews.

Meanwhile, the holy Inquisition had acquired from Rome the novel power of executing the penalties awarded by their tribunals, and to promote their efficiency had required and obtained further concessions of influence to a frightfully despotic extent. The objects of their institution were, to watch over the religion of the country, more especially of the new-Christians, as the numerous Jews and few Moors professing Christianity were denominated, and to punish delinquencies when discovered.

We have seen how, during a long course of centuries, the clergy had acted upon one undeviating line of policy, uninfluenced by wars, change of dynasty, or personal feelings, to drive the Jews into the bosom of the church. Since the time of Sisebut the Goth, all direct compulsion in the matter of baptism had been discountenanced by papal authority and general sentiment. But, notwithstanding the dictates of abstract right and reason, bishops and friars had plundered and murdered such as refused to be converted, while civil penalties and restrictions were likewise

heaped upon the recusants. An exemption from all this might be purchased by enduring the sprinkling of a few drops of water; yet this trifle in itself, was the *crux fidei* to a Jew, as was the burning of a few grains of incense before a senseless idol to the primitive Christian, with the alternative of the lions of the amphitheatre. The temptation was in each case intensely seductive, but the iniquity of the Spanish churchman, with his organized Inquisition to preclude the possibility of receding, was altogether unparalleled in pagan persecutions. Aware of the varied unrighteousness of the means employed to gain their proselytes, the end, according to their morality, justified the means, and murder, with every other violation of Christianity, was engaged to secure the retention of their unlawful seizures.

Against the introduction of these tyrannical courts, the Jews used entreaties, and lavished their money and other influence. The queen with the Cortes of Castille protested. And the nobles of Aragon, resisting so gross an innovation on the ancient privileges of their country, shut the gates of Teruel against their king and the Inquisitors, and denounced death to any of these who should enter the city. The royal force prevailed, but the first inquisitor entering was put to death. This violence, however, without power to

follow it up, was prejudicial to Aragonese freedom, for the clergy converted the victim into a martyr, and by working a miracle at the funeral, augmented the dignity of their cause. Thus the holy inquisition, as it is profanely called, with its banner of the sword and olive-branch, was triumphant over the whole franchises and aristocracy of two kingdoms and the sovereign of one. Its tribunal being opened at Seville in 1483, that city in a short time numbered more prisoners than other inhabitants. In one single year, above two thousand were put to death, for relapse to Judaism: many were imprisoned for life, and seventeen thousand were subjected to corporeal punishment. At length the mound near the city, known by the name of the Tablada, was paved with stone and enclosed. This formed the Quemadero, or burning place, and on that spot, more than four thousand Jews were committed to the flames in thirty-seven years. Minor courts of inquisition were established at four other places, for the exercise of similar discipline.

Zurita, who describes in terms of uncommon rapture this faithful zeal of the church, by which, from the year 1483 to 1520, in the archbishopric of Seville alone, between the imprisoned, the banished, and the dead, above 100,000 Judaizing heretics received their several sentences, not to

mention such as were retrieved from slight derelictions to the bosom of the church; Zurita remarks[1]: "the blessing which these kingdoms of Spain have derived from the introduction of this holy office, with its arrangements for determining causes of the faith by the prelates who are its ordinary judges, together with the secret imprisonment, the withholding the names of the witnesses, the non-permission of the apostolical see, in its sacred benevolence, to interfere, by removing causes for decision to Rome, but the ultimate adjudication of them all by the inquisitors-general, aided by the council of holy and general inquisition,—has been such, and so universal, as to show clearly that it was by a kind of divine inspiration that those princes[1], and that holy man[2], were enlightened, not only for the restoration of religion and sacred matters, so much needed at the time, but principally for the profit of these our days."

The annalist does not overlook the advantage, that, "great were the possessions and valuables which thus accrued to the royal chancery and revenue; and by these means were accomplished many celebrated works, as the erection of divers

[1] Añales de Aragon, iv. 324.

[1] Ferdinand and Isabella. [2] Torquemada.

churches and monasteries, which are peculiarly pious and sacred institutions."

The various tokens believed to indicate a Jewish predilection in a baptized person were all defined with precision, and every one upon whom these plague-spots were said to be discernible by the sharpened sight of the greedy or of the personally hostile, became amenable to the inquisition: the reward for information was sure, and the delator unnamed and unconfronted to the victim. Moreover, the rabbis were frequently interrogated upon oath, and under the terror of impending death, as to their knowledge of any baptized converts adhering secretly to the Jewish superstition. Insane fanaticism! diabolical profanation of the Christian name! It alone has been sufficient to make Spain infamous through all succeeding generations, and its ravages destroyed the population worse than could have been effected by a pestilence, a civil war, or an inroad of barbarians. Two thousand burned alive in one year at one city by judicial sentence, that is, more than five daily without intermission even of Sundays, supposing these to be desecrated with the same proceedings. But times like these are not to be estimated merely by their extreme rigour; there were the numbers immured in hopeless confinement; the thousands publicly flogged; and the

restless agony of fear in those not yet arraigned; the wariness exacted for the utterance of every syllable: the painful effort to conceal the rankling apprehension [1]; and the multiplied evil of what is at all times evil, a divided family.

The new Christians were not only obnoxious to the lynx-eyed suspicion of the church, but were looked upon with scorn as apostates, by the old Hebrews who maintained their lofty fidelity. At the first establishment of the inquisition, R. Judah ben Virga, the president of Seville, placed three doves in his window: one dead and plucked, with this inscription *in Hebrew*, "These are the detected;" another plucked, but not killed, with these words, "These are the temporizers;" the third was both alive and in its feathers, and designated, "The best of all." This symbolical lesson was meant to intimate, that the open declared Jew was likely to suffer least; the pretended convert was liable to spoliation though permitted to live; but such as came under the verdict of the Inquisition, as Jews after baptism, would be utterly ruined. This rabbi kept his post in the time of danger, until all hope was past; but escaping to Lisbon, he was apprehended, and tortured to make him disclose the names of such as he knew to be

[1] "Id ipsum paventes quod timuissent."—Tac. Ann. iv. 7.

Judaists under the mask of Christianity: but he died of the infliction, and betrayed none. To the memorials which he left of the sufferings of his people, we are indebted for the idea which his grandson matured by compiling the "Sceptre of Judah."

The rabbinical writers about this time may be enumerated as follows:

I. R. Joel aben Shoeb of Aragon, a diffuse sermon-writer, on the Law, on the Lamentations, and on the Psalms. The latter volume is styled "Fearful in praises," (Exod. xv. 11.)

II. R. Isaac Kampanton, called the Gaon of Castille, author of "the Book of the Ways of Gemara." Several of his disciples rose to honourable eminence, as R. Isaac Abu-ab, and R. Isaac of Leon, the Cabalist. He died in 1463, aged 70. His appearance was so prepossessing, that the Juhhassin, speaking of an interview with this rabbi, says, "His face was like the Shechinah!"

III. R. Periphot Duran, wrote:

1. "The Ephod," a profound work on Hebrew philology.

2. "The Cincture of the Ephod," and "The Breastplate."

3. Comment on "The Guide of the Perplexed."

4. Short notices on pieces by Aben Ezra.

5. "The Confusion of the Gentiles," against Christianity.

6. The famous letter from Constantinople to his son Boneto at Montpellier, "Be not like unto thy fathers," &c.

IV. Simon Duran ben Tsemahh of Aragon, driven by persecution, in 1391, to Africa; where he studied so profoundly as to obtain the appellation of "Great."

1. "The Lover of the Just," on Job.

2. "Splendour of the Firmament," on the Azaroth, written at Algiers in 1417.

3. "Shield of the Fathers," on religion.

4. Answers to Questions on the Law.

5. Exposition of the Faith of Christians.

6. "Bow and Shield," against the religions of the Turks and Christians, but so violent as to be suppressed by the more prudent of his nation.

V. R. Zachariah the Levite, ben Isaac Saaltiel of Barcelona, lived 230 years later than the former of that name. Author of:

1. Animadversions upon a book on Matrimony, by Abraham bar David of Kiriath-jearim; shewing, by reason and the Talmud, how false were some of his positions.

2. Exercises preliminary to reading the Talmud.

3. Translation from the Arabic of Bar Maimon's "Book of Diet."

4. Translation from the Arabic of Algazali's "Confusion of the Philosophers."

5. On the Essence of the Soul.

VI. R. Samuel Sarsa, called Aben Seneh (i. e. a bush). It is related by the Juhhassin (134), that at the reading of a nuptial contract in the synagogue, he publicly protested against its date from the creation, and contended philosophically for the eternal existence of the world. This argument, though not novel as an Aristotelian speculation, yet when propounded in open congregation, so much alarmed the more orthodox majority, that during the tumult which followed, R. Isaac Kampanton cried out, "Why is the bush not burned?" The assembly then dragged the blasphemer before the judges, who condemned him to be burned alive as an Atheist. Three of his writings remain.

1. Sacred Purification.

2. "The Fountain of Life," on the Law.

3. "Perfection of Beauty," (Ps. l. 2.) on the Agadoth.

VII. R. Isaac Nathan. Besides his controver-

sial works, he wrote "The Hundred Words," to instruct his son in morals and manners. He also translated into Hebrew his brother Arlotto's Concordance of the Bible. A confusion has arisen from a later edition ascribing this book to some unknown Mordecai Nathan; thus it cannot be determined, whether, 1. these were different persons; 2. the same person under both names; or, 3. it was begun by one person and completed by another, perhaps his son.

VIII. Don Meir Alguadis, physician to the king of Castille, and superintendent of all the synagogues in that kingdom. In 1405, he translated into Hebrew "The Ethics of Aristotle," which translation was afterwards inserted entire in "The Glory of God," by R. Shem Tob.

IX. R. David, ben Solomon, ben Rab, ben David, aben Jahhiia of Lisbon; died there in 1465.

1. "The Tongue of the Learned." (Isa. l. 4.) Grammatical.

2. "The Shekel of the Sanctuary," (Exod. xxx. 13.) on Poetry.

3. "The Psalms of David," (Ps. cxlv. 1.) finished by his son.

4. On Hebrew metrical verse, translated into Latin by Genebrard.

X. R. Joseph ben Shem Tob, about 1420.

1. An Arabic comment on Aristotle's Ethics.

2. Translation into Hebrew of Bar Hhasdai's Articles of Religion.

3. Remarks on Periphot Duran's letter to Boneto.

4. "The Glory of God," (Ps. xix. 1.) as displayed in the excellence of human nature and the Law of Moses. In this work Aristotle's Philosophy is highly extolled, and Don Meir Alguadis' version of the ethics inserted.

XI. R. Joseph Albo of Soria, one of the disputants at the Tortosa conference. He is styled n the "Branch of David," "the divine philosopher." His writings are:

1. "The Book of Principles," (of Jewish faith) a work of high reputation; but it is remarked, that although he upholds the belief that Messiah will come, he blames those who make it an essential article of the faith. Thus attacking the formula of belief by R. Moses bar Maimon, in which is every day recited—"I believe with a perfect faith, that the Messiah will come; and although

His coming be delayed, I will still patiently await His speedy appearance."

2. "On the Existence of God," a book which Christians hold in estimation.

3. "On Rewards and Punishments." In the last division of this book, he is exceedingly bold against the Mass, Transubstantiation, the Trinity, the Genealogy of Jesus, and the change of the Sabbath-day. It has been translated and answered by Genebrard.

XII. Shem Tob ben Joseph, about 1430.

1. Sermons.

2. Annotations on the "Guide of the Perplexed."

3. "Articles of the Faith," in which book, he opposes himself to Moses bar Maimon, Aben Ezra, and Gershom: but was answered by Moses Aleskar. De Rossi ascribes this work to R. Hhasdai Kriskas of Zaragoza as its author, and to R. Joseph Shem Tob, as its translator from Arabic to Hebrew.

XIII. Moses bar Shem Tob Sephardi of Leon, or Moses Hhaviv of Lisbon.

1. "The Wholesome Tongue," (Prov. xv. 4.) a small work on grammar.

2. "The Ways of Pleasantness," (Prov. iii. 17.) on Hebrew poetry.

3. Comment on "The Proof of the World."

4. "The Field of God," on the genius of the "Guide of the Perplexed."

5. "The Voice of the Lord is powerful." (Ps. xxix. 4.)

XIV. R. Judah ben Joseph of Zaragoza; about 1460.

1. On the positive precepts.
2. On the animals clean for food.
3. On the grapes of Eshcol. (Num. xiii. 24.)

XV. R. Joshua ben Joseph, the Levite of Castille. Escaping from a persecution, he was generously received by Don Vidal of Leon, at Toledo, and there, in 1467, he wrote "The Ways Everlasting," (Hab. iii. 6.) introductory to the Talmud.

XVI. R. Abraham aben Daguar, the Levite; he wrote:

1. "The Exalted Faith."
2. On the transmigration of souls [1].

[1] This monstrous innovation upon the pure Hebraism of the Bible, is incidentally recorded as a prevalent notion of the time

XVII. R. Don Hhasdai Kriskas of Zaragoza.

1. Letter to the Jews in Crete, against a rabbi who had been preaching there in favour of the transmigration of souls.

2. Translation of the "Balances of Justice," from the Arabic of Algazali.

XVIII. R. Joseph Chivan of Lisbon.

1. Comment on the Psalms.

2. Comment on the Proverbs.

3. Comment on the Haphtoroth, on Isaiah and Jeremiah.

4. Comment on Ezekiel and the minor prophets.

of Christ. (John ix. 2. and Matt. xvi. 14.) It remains still to our days, solemnly adopted in the public Jewish worship, as may be seen in the following extract from Levi's "Prayers for the Spanish Congregation in London."

"Prayers for the night.—Sovereign of the Universe, behold, I freely forgive every one who hath aggrieved or vexed me, or hath injured me, either in body, goods, honour, or any thing belonging to me, whether by compulsion or choice, ignorantly or presumptuously, in word or in deed, in this transitory state, or in any former one, by any son of Israel: and I pray that no person may be punished on my account." (Note by the editor and translator. "It is the opinion of some, that the transmigration of the soul takes place, but that not more than three times, though sometimes not so often. This they founded on the passage in Job xxxiii. 29. 'Lo, all these things worketh God with man thrice,' or 'twice and thrice.'")

5. Comment on the "Chapters of the Fathers."

6. "Pure Words," (Ps. xii. 6.) consisting of four treatises on certain points of Scripture.

XIX. R. Alhhadeb. Author of:

1. "The Beaten Path," (Jer. xviii. 15.) on the annual festivals.

2. "The Tongue of Gold," on poetic measures.

3. "Opera artificiosa," on arithmetic.

4. "The Precious Instrument," on the astrolabe.

XX. R. Isaac ben Tsadik, commonly called the Spanish Levite, who wrote about 1482.

1. "The Beaten Path."

2. "Astronomical Tables," opposed to those of R. Immanuel bar Jacob.

XXI. R. Joel ben Shiocu, a prolix sermon writer.

XXII. R. Moses of Narbonne, ben R. Joshua Isai ben David. He wrote a comment on the "Guide of the Perplexed," which has been rendered into Latin by R. Solomon bar Maimon; and translated into Hebrew from the Arabic of Algazali. 1. On the Unity of God; 2. On Divine Providence; 3. On the Utility of Logic.

In the fifteenth century there were strong expectations entertained of a speedy arrival of the Great Deliverer, founded on a prediction made about two centuries before, by the famous astronomer, Abraham the prince. The desired advent was fixed for that period, when the planets Jupiter and Saturn should come in conjunction, as they did at the birth of Moses; namely, 2859 years after Moses, i. e. A.D. 1464. These planets met in Cancer 1444, and in Pisces 1464, twice in the same century.

Deluded Israelites! there has been a nobler apposition of luminaries, unknown to you at the time, and not believed when declared to you afterwards: it was on that day when Messiah, Moses, and Elias, all met in glory on a high mountain apart!

CHAPTER XXIV.

GENERAL BANISHMENT OF JEWS FROM SPAIN —SUFFERINGS OF THE EXILES.

WITH the cross above the Alhambra, "the last sigh of the Moor" from the heights of the Alpuxaras, was the prelude to the last sigh of the Hebrew! The Inquisition prevailed on the two sovereigns to sweep from the Spanish territory the whole profession of Jewish faith, regardless of national interest, and heedless of the ruin to be thus incurred by countless families, possessing loves and attachments which Romish ecclesiastics cannot value. "I am a man, and nothing human is alien to me," said the ancient heathen; "Rejoice with them that do rejoice, and weep with them that weep," said the Christian apostle: but the Papal churchman, steeled by his vows and discipline, is ever ready to execute the most cruel resolutions.

The chiefs of the Inquisition determined to cleanse the land from all belief but their own: but was not the blessed Founder of Christianity of another mind? "The kingdom of heaven," he said, "is likened unto a man which sowed good seed in his field: but, while men slept, his enemy came and sowed tares among the wheat, and went his way: But when the blade was sprung up, and brought forth fruit, then appeared the tares also: So the *servants of the householder* came and said unto him, Sir, didst not thou sow good seed in thy field? from whence then hath it tares? He said unto them, An enemy hath done this. The servants said unto him, Wilt thou then that we go and gather them up? But *he* said, Nay, lest while ye gather up the tares, ye root up also the wheat with them. *Let both grow together until the harvest.*" This ought to be sufficient reply to those who urged the measure as one purely ecclesiastical (and it was urged on no other ground); besides the fact that the head of the Roman church was averse to it, and allowed the Jews a residence in the very heart of his Christendom, always viewing them as guardians of at least half the Divine Revelation, and inasmuch as they rejected the rest, so many witnesses against themselves, and vouchers for the Christian faith; and the consideration, that if cast out of Spain,

they would mostly take refuge with Mohammedans beyond the reach of the Gospel.

No political calculation could have required this deed. The Jews were not like the Moors, in possession of ships and sea-ports, with friendly aid to summon from beyond the sea. There was not even the pretext of that correspondence with foreign foes, which at the close of the Gothic monarchy had been deemed sufficient reason for consigning every Jew to slavery. It is therefore evident, that no sovereign, not priest-led against his better knowledge, would have ejected a class of ancient subjects, so numerous and so valuable, to enrich other lands. We read, indeed, of an ancient Egyptian monarch chasing from his territory a people hateful to his gods, (or priests, in this respect the same). Tacitus was told that these were the Jews, but was a heathen Pharaoh a safe model for Christian imitation[1]?

The decree was signed March 1492, that in four months, every Jew, native or sojourner, should quit the realms of Aragon, Castille, and Granada, never more to return, under penalty of death and

[1] In 1309, Philip le Bel expelled the Jews from France; his son Charles VI. recalled them for a short time, and finally banished them in 1327. Edward III. of England expelled them from his dominions; but their removal from Spain was in every respect a more important transaction than either of these.

confiscation of goods; and the justice of the Inquisition was denounced against all who should harbour or conceal a Jew after that time. All property might be carried with them, but not in the substance of gold or silver, or the other articles usually forbidden to be removed from Spain. Bills of exchange might be taken instead of plate, jewels, or coin. But this indulgence sounds better than was realized by the event; for, as the time approached for their departure, the property to be sold exceeded the demand, the most wary purchasers reserving their offers to the last extremity of the helpless victims, who then were glad, it is said, to barter a house for an ass, or a vineyard for a few yards of linen cloth. Many of the Jews abstained from selling, hoping to the last moment that some favourable change would intervene to prevent the final catastrophe: but they were deceived; for Torquemada the Inquisitor-general, (whose extended titles Zurita rehearses with pompous delight, and whom some Protestants have denominated the first-born of hell) hearing that the wealthiest Jews had attempted to divert the purpose of the court by a bribe of 600,000 crowns, Thomas Torquemada, like Thomas Becket of old, rushed into the presence, and upbraided the sovereigns for their half-inclination to sell their Saviour to the Jews for pieces of silver. He is-

sued an edict by his own authority, prohibiting all traffic with Jews for a term considerably within that of their banishment by the royal proclamation; and thus multiplied incalculably the losses to which they were previously liable. But throughout the kingdom of Aragon (which included Valencia and Catalonia) where all Jews were vassals to the crown or to the ecclesiastical lordships, a general sequestration of their property was made, by commissioners empowered to liquidate speedily all dues and debts that should be claimed, as well as all rents and taxes for the current year, and to hand over the remainder to the claimants of the property thus disposed of. The synagogues were probably not accounted private property, and therefore their value could be rendered to no individuals, i. e. that no Jews were entitled to claim their produce. They were generally converted into churches or convents; as, for instance, that of Merida, into a church dedicated to Sta. Catalina, Virgin and Martyr. It is easy to perceive how open this sequestration lay to extensive peculation, yet it was probably more advantageous than private sales at random.

As the term drew near, the ascendant party must have regarded the harassed Jew with such a burning intensity of assured victory, as the hawk feels while fluttering fixedly above his

prey. The resource of baptism remained, subject however to the vigilance of the holy office, and many yielded to the powerful temptation; but the end of July saw multitudes of noble-minded Israelites forsake their homes, their fathers' graves, and all their old associations of infancy and ancestry, to wander they knew not whither, a dignified triumph of passive courage! Zurita reckons their number at 170,000; Cardoso at 120,000; Miguel de Barrios and Mariana at 800,000; and it is said, that notwithstanding all their losses in the breaking up of their property, they carried off thirty million ducats.

Abarbanel's narration, in his preface to the books of Kings, deserves attention and sympathy. "—When the royal proclamation was announced, I was at court, and wearied myself to frenzy in imploring compassion. Thrice on my knees I besought the king, 'Regard us, O king; use not thy subjects with so much cruelty; rather exact from us our gold and silver vessels, or abundant gifts, even all that every Jew possesses, if he may still abide in his country.' I entreated likewise my friends the king's officers to allay his indignation against my people. I implored the councillors to advise the king, each in his turn, to recall the decree. But as the adder closes her ear with dust against the voice of the charmer, so the

king hardened his heart against the prayers of his suppliants, and declared that he would not revoke his edict to gain all the wealth of all the Jews. At his right hand was the queen, the Jews' enemy, urging him with an angry voice to pursue what he had so happily commenced. We exhausted all our power for the removal of the king's sentence, but there was no wisdom nor help remaining. Our nation, wherever the decree had been proclaimed or its fame had spread, bewailed their condition with a great wailing. Tossed in these fearful billows, they exhorted and confirmed the minds of each other. Whatever befals, let us surmount every calamity for the honour of our nation and our religion, by a brave endurance: let us defend these from the hateful persecutors. If they leave us our life, we will live: if they take it from us, we will die: but never let us violate our holy law, the fulness of our affections, or the counsel of wisdom. O rather (and may God turn it all to good) let us abandon our settlements, and seek for homes elsewhere. Thus excited, there departed in one day 300,000 on foot and unarmed, collected from every province, the young, and the old, infants and women, all ready to go in any direction. Of that number was I; and, with God for our leader, we set out."

Those of Castille took refuge in Portugal; about

20,000 families, according to Conestaggio [1], where they were admitted on the payment of eight gold ducats for each person, children at the breast excepted, but with the stipulation of becoming slaves if found in the country after a stated day; artificers in brass or iron were admitted at four ducats each, and invited to remain in Portugal. The frontiers were lined with tax-gatherers for the occasion, and the royal treasure must have become rapidly augmented.

Those of the Northern provinces fled to Navarre, or took shipping for strange countries. The ports of Cadiz, Sta. Maria, Carthagena, Valencia, and Barcelona, were thronged with suppliants for leave to embark at any price, for Morocco, Italy, or Greece, since death and confiscation were behind them. Their sufferings during these voyages, at the mercy of the vilest of mercenary ship-masters, are horrible to recount. After exacting large sums for the passage, some burned or wrecked their vessels while at sea, escaping themselves in their boats, and carrying off the goods of the Jews. Others starved their victims; and when famine induced fever or the plague, put them ashore to perish. One ship's crew were about to murder their Jewish passengers for the sake of their property, or as they expressed it, to avenge the death of Jesus

[1] De Portugalliæ conjunctione, &c.

Christ; but a Christian merchant on board reminded them that Christ died to save men's lives, and therefore his death was a blessing to the world. So the Jews were only carried to a barren coast, and left entirely naked on the beach; there they found a spring of fresh water; but in climbing the rocks by night to look for tokens of human habitation, several of them were seized and devoured by lions. Five days they abode there, till the crew of a passing ship, perceiving naked people on the shore, brought them on board, provided shifts for the women, and tore up old sails to clothe the men: they gave them food, and conveyed them to a certain port; where, when the inhabitants inquired if he had slaves for sale, the ship-master nobly answered No! but delivered the poor Jews to their brethren in the city, on payment of reasonable expenses: these gladly made him an additional present, "praying God for his safety, and that He would prolong his life to a happy old age [1]."

Those who arrived at Fez were so numerous that the inhabitants shut the gates against them, leaving the Jews exposed to the African July sun in the open plain, with no food but the small quantity of grass which at that season could be found: and as they died, the survivors were too much enfeebled to bury their relatives. Some sold their

[1] "Sceptre of Judah."

children for bread: but after a time, the king obtained supplies of food, which he freely distributed, and restored the children without ransom.

At Sallee, the crew of a large ship enticed the starving Jewish children on board, to the number of 150, with pieces of bread, and then sailed away. The mothers ran screaming along the beach, imploring compassion, but in vain; their children were conveyed to a distant African port, and sold into slavery.

Amid such distressing events, various anecdotes are given of personal suffering and constancy, peculiarly Jewish. Some victims were discharged from a ship upon a desolate island, on the plea of pestilence. Of these some died of hunger; others with more strength walked forward to search for a human habitation. One of the latter had a wife and two infants; the wife died of fatigue, and himself fainted: on recovering, he found his two babes already dead, but even in this extremity he cried aloud his firm resolve to live and die in the Mosaic religion; then, gathering up sand and gravel, he heaped a pile above his dead, and hasted to rejoin his fellow-sufferers who had meanwhile gained some distance before him; "for at the brink of death every one cares for himself, and not for another[1]." One mother was known to snatch up

[1] "Sceptre of Judah."

a large stone as her infant son lay in the agony of death, and strike him on the head till he died, herself expiring almost immediately from the exertion she had used. And it is boasted that during the famine in the fields before Fez, the Jews refrained from even seeking grass or roots upon the Sabbath day. A breaking up of family connections must have taken place to a great extent. After some time, there settled in Barbary a company of two hundred widows, some of whom knew their husbands to be dead, but having no children were bound to marry their husbands' brothers; and as these could not be found, were precluded from marrying again. Others had missed their husbands, but could not be assured of their death, and were thus unable to marry. These all uniting their sympathies and little property, reached Sallee and dwelt all together, labouring diligently with their hands, and setting apart all the earnings above their own moderate expenditure for the purposes of religion and education.

Of the Jews who directed their course to Christian countries, nine caravels full arrived at Naples, already infected with disease arising from the hardships and privations of the voyage. This pestilence was communicated to the city, and carried off 20,000 inhabitants. Others repaired

to Genoa during a famine there: the citizens allowed them to land, but met them with bread in one hand and a crucifix in the other, to intimate that baptism was to be the price of appeasing their hunger. Many, instead of disembarking at Genoa, proceeded to Rome; at which influx the Jews of the Ghetto were so much alarmed, that they offered the pope a bribe of a thousand ducats that he should prohibit the arrival of these strangers. Alexander was justly indignant at such a proposal, not only inhuman, but especially contrary to the usual fraternal spirit of Jews, and threatened to eject them to make room for the unfortunate exiles; to avert which disaster the Roman Jews received their brethren, and presented the pontiff with two thousand ducats.

Such was the general banishment from Spain, after more than 1400 years residence, and a larger average share of prosperity than any other section of their nation had met with, since the fall of the temple. They loved it as their native land, both those who clung to it at the price of conscience, and those who honourably relinquished its ungrateful soil. Abarbanel claims some merit for his people, for that being very numerous, unemployed, and driven to despair, in a mountainous country, with riches in their hands, they

did not halt, and give the Spanish crowns more trouble to drive them out than had been expected. Indeed, much might have been done; for the new conquest of Granada was not yet obedient to the iron curb, and the Alpuxara hills had formerly sheltered a guerilla race on many and lengthened occasions. Had a stand been made, the Moors of Africa would have gladly given assistance, and the territory of Granada would more than support its population. These considerations might have made Ferdinand pause in his violent proceeding, although there is no doubt of his eventual success, aided by allies, had such extremities arrived.

The king of Aragon, in recompense for his labours in behalf of the Church, by the conquest of Granada, and the ejection of the Jews, had granted to him the proud appellation of "Most Catholic King," while the pope received and patronized the very Jews whom he had expelled.

These were stirring times. The world was shaken powerfully at the end of the fifteenth century, by the invention of printing; the Portuguese discoveries; the capture of Constantinople, compensated by that of Granada; the dispersion of the Jews; and the finding of a new hemisphere.

While Christopher Columbus was fitting out his little fleet at Palos de Moguer, ships were in

demand at every port to convey the Jews from Spain. Was not the eye of God peculiarly watching these two transactions, when coming results were known to Him alone? Five weeks only after the latest Hebrew lingered on the Spanish shore, those three small vessels weighed anchor for an ocean they had never navigated, to find a country they had never heard of, and the possibility of whose existence was denied by the most learned and religious men of the time. Why should these circumstances so strangely coincide? That ancient people with an unparalleled history is just dismissed. Why could not Spain discover the lands of gold and silver till the Jews were removed? Why should not new forms of heathenism come within her cognizance, till Judaism and Mohammedanism were subdued? God had His own purposes to arrange, but it was surely a great crisis in the national responsibility of Spain.

Prosperity, was it—and a token of heaven's approval, when these untold riches accrued to Spain? No, as sure as there is a righteous Judge to rule events, the present degradation of that land, through the corruption which gold engenders, is neither a blessing nor a casualty. The unauthorized oppression of Israel is no trifle, even during dispersion; for it is written, "I was wroth

with my people, I polluted mine inheritance, and gave them into thine hand; thou didst shew them no mercy: upon the ancient hast thou very heavily laid thy yoke. Therefore shall evil come upon thee: thou shalt not know from whence it riseth; and mischief shall fall upon thee, thou shalt not be able to put it off: and desolation shall come upon thee suddenly, which thou shalt not know[1]." Add moreover, that the fires of the Inquisition were blazing during the passage of Columbus; and that the horrid religion of the Spaniards followed up the detestable cruelties of ruffians, to extirpate the simple pagans of America. Was it then Divine favour, which gave a nation such full scope to exert its hideous propensities? Spain, puffed up with conquests, could point out in a short lapse of years to Granada, to the New World, to Italy, to the French king their prisoner at one time, and the pope at another: but these triumphs, and the masses of transatlantic gold, could never replace their Moorish agriculturists, or their Jewish merchants: they could not supply a population to the vacated fields and cities.

It is presumption in mortal man, with his limited knowledge, to judge the dispensations of

[1] Isa. xlvii. 6 and 11. See page 133.

Almighty Providence in individual cases, since the anomalies of this world are frequently left to be rectified by a future retribution: but nations, as such, have no after existence, and God's dealings may be accurately traced in them. Speedily after the expatriation of the Jews, and during the hottest reign of the Inquisition, the vaunted royal descent, in both Spain and Portugal, became extinct: and in the former of these, a succession of mad or idiotic sovereigns has tended greatly to make monarchy itself a laughing-stock for the infidel and the republican. Reverses in connected sequence have shown the hollowness of that empire upon whose territories the sun could not set: the colonies one by one have vanished; Naples and the Netherlands have been lost; the population of the Peninsula, which in the ninth century was forty millions, is now reduced to between ten and eleven millions; that of Toledo is dwindled from two hundred thousand to twenty thousand; the national politics are distracted between the democracy, with its fierce Tragala, and the bigotry of the middle-age Camarillas, each party so lately rivalling the other in cold unflinching butchery; the realm is bankrupt, without a navy, and left naked to her enemies, a reproach for every passer by.

But national judgments are equally visible in the sufferings of the Jews: and the exile from

Spain was a repetition of that from Palestine: "Weep ye not for the dead, neither bemoan him: but weep sore for him that goeth away: for he shall return no more, nor see his native country [1]."

The Spanish Jews had many learned writers and talented men, at the time of this dispersion; among them were:

I. R. David Vidal of Toledo, physician, poet, and musician, flourished about 1467.

1. "The Crown of the Law," on the 613 precepts.

2. "The Golden Song of David," (Ps. xvi. 1.) upon the thirteen articles of the Creed: with anthems at the end, for the celebration of circumcision, marriage, and the day of atonement.

II. R. David ben Joseph Jahhiia, born at Lisbon 1465; married at the age of sixteen; became councillor (together with Abarbanel) in the court of Alfonso V.; but resisting the personal entreaty of his successor to embrace Christianity, he fled secretly to Italy, with his father and his wife, to Florence, Ferrara, Ravenna, Imola, and Naples;

[1] Jer. xxii. 10.

but when the Spanish policy prevailed even there to expel the Jews, he retired again to Imola, and died there, aged 77. His writings were numerous on philosophy and rhetoric, some poems, and a treatise on rhymed verse.

III. R. Joseph Gikatila of Sala in Castille, a famous Cabalist, who wrote:

1. "Gates of Light," on the Attributes and Names of God.

2. "Gate of Heaven." (Gen. xxviii. 17.)

3. "Gate of Similitudes."

IV. R. Joseph Titzak, retired to Thessalonica.

1. Comment on Ecclesiastes, called "The fruitful Bough of Joseph." (Gen. xlix. 22.)

2. Comment on certain of the Psalms.

3. Questions and Answers on the Law.

4. Comment on Daniel and the Megillah, i. e. Esther, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, Ruth, and the Lamentations. This work is named "Bread in Secret." (Prov. ix. 17.)

V. R. Jacob bar Judah aben Kastiel of Alcala: he translated a Latin book on Surgery into Hebrew, A.D. 1501.

VI. R. Isaac Arama of Zamora, a Cabalist.

1. "The Inheritance of Isaac," on the Written

Law, and Megillah, opposing violently the Grecian Philosophy.

2. "The Hand of Absalom," on the Psalms.

3. "The Grievous Vision," (Isa. xxi. 2.) against the Mohammedans and Christians.

VII. R. Meir, son of the above, accompanied his father to Naples, and died in Turkey, 1556.

1. Comment on Job.

2. Comment on the Psalms.

3. Comment on Isaiah and Jeremiah, called "Urim and Thummim."

4. Comment on the Canticles.

5. Comment on Esther.

6. Comment on the Written Law.

VIII. R. Isaac Abu-Ab of Castille, died in Portugal 1493, esteemed by the king; and for rabbinical learning by his nation. Author of:

1. "The Table of Shew-bread," a ritual of prayers.

2. "The River Pison." (Gen. ii. 11.) Sermons.

3. "The Candlestick of Light," (Exod. xxxv. 14.) divided into seven branches: 1. On the negative precepts; 2. On ruling the tongue; 3. On the positive precepts; 4. On the study of the Law; 5. On penitence; 6. On love, peace, and goodwill; 7. On humility.

IX. R. Isaac Karo of Toledo, ben R. Joseph Karo. At the general exile, he repaired to Portugal, and thence to Jerusalem. On the way he lost his wife and children, also his books. During his loneliness he composed "The Generation of Isaac," (Gen. xxv. 19.) slightly tinctured with Cabala.

X. R. Abraham Bivash of Aragon.
1. "The Way of the Faith."
2. Sermons.
3. "This shall comfort us." (Gen. v. 29.)

XI. R. Joseph Jabetz, who wrote in Italy:
1. Comment on the Psalms.
2. Tract on the Unity of God.
3. "Foundation of the Faith."

XII. R. Abraham ben R. Isaac, bar R. Judah, ben R. Samuel Shalom of Catalonia, wrote
1. Annotations on "The Physics" and other writings of Algazali.
2. "The Peaceable Habitation," (Isa. xxxii. 18.) an erudite compendium of all kinds of knowledge, without any particular arrangement.

XIII. R. Abraham ben Job Tob Bivash; wrote,

about A.D. 1480, "The Book of Trial" upon the Analytics of Aristotle.

XIV. R. Don Isaac Abarbanel, or Abravanel; descended from a most ancient and wealthy family. One of his ancestors sheltered R. Menahem from the massacre of Seville[1]: and as we have seen, his people claimed for him a royal pedigree from David[2].

He was born in Lisbon, 1437. Carefully educated, he grew up studious, peaceful, and subtle. Being indefatigable in study, and extremely patient of fasting and watching, his reading was extensive. He was sometimes known to write fluently within a few days, comments on whole books of Scripture; but both the matter and expression he had previously matured in his mind. These elucidations are remarkably pure and easy in style, though diffuse, and may be better trusted than any other rabbinical commentations. The exasperation produced by the oppressions of his time, is especially visible in the notes to the Minor Prophets, which abound in bitter reproaches upon Christianity (as he understood it), the Christian kings, and the papal hierarchy. It is said that he never avoided Christian

[1] See page 307. [2] Chapter II.

society, but rather embraced every opportunity for this purpose which his rank and talents procured for him; and that his conversation was so mild and liberal, as to lull all suspicions in a feeling of friendship.

During the reign of Alfonso V., he was frequently consulted by the king upon political negociations. John II. succeeding in 1481, distrusted and banished him. Removing to Castille, he applied himself to commerce, from which he accumulated riches [1], and affected great pomp about the court of Ferdinand and Isabella, on the score of his regal descent. Bartoloccio says, that his haughty bearing, more than any other consideration, brought on the final catastrophe of the Spanish Jews: but this was too deeply planned to be affected by any individual's conduct. We may indeed imagine, how his proud spirit would chafe against the grasp of Torquemada, and that the two in collision would realize the poet's image of the Eagle and Serpent [2]: but the holy office prevailed over the intrigue, the gold, or the pride of the Jew. The decree swept away Abarbanel with the rest, and he repaired to Naples

[1] "Wisdom is a defence, and money is a defence." Eccl. vii. 12.

[2] "Utque volans altè raptum cùm fulva draconem
Fert aquila, implicuitque pedes, atque unguibus hæsit,
Saucius at serpens," &c.—Æn. xi. 751.

with his family and relations, in possession of large sums of money.

At Naples he ingratiated himself with king Ferdinand, by professing to be versed in the state secrets of Portugal and Castille; but the Neapolitans were soon afterwards alarmed at the rapid approach of the French king, and Abarbanel's preface to Deuteronomy still contains the contemptuous epithet which he bestowed on the invader, "The Mosquito." Our author accompanied the court to Sicily, and from Messina he next year withdrew to Corfu. At the departure of the French, he returned to Naples, and resided seven years at Monopoli in Apulia; thence to Venice, where he died in 1508, aged 71. He was interred in the old Jewish cemetery at Pavia, which is now destroyed. Most of the incidents of his life are gathered from his own prefaces to the commentaries.

He had three sons, Judah, Joseph, and Samuel; the eldest became a good scholar, an eminent physician, and an elegant poet[1]. The second, certainly not unlearned; he remained with his father during all his wanderings and troubles, and

[1] He wrote some "Dialogues on Love," since rendered into Latin by Sarracenus, into French by Sauvage and Du Parc, and into Spanish by Garcilasso de la Vega, Montesa, and Jahhiia. He is also the reputed author of "Drusilla," a tragic pastoral tale.

was, *therefore*, blessed with a long life. The third was converted to Christianity, and in baptism at Ferrara was named by the grand duke Alfonso. Abarbanel's writings are these:

1. A comment on the Pentateuch. At the age of twenty, he had given public lectures on Deuteronomy in the synagogue of Lisbon; but the manuscripts were afterwards lost for many years, until at Naples, in 1495, he recovered them from some neglected packages. Laying aside his actual employment, he enlarged these lectures to comprise the whole of the Law; and this comment he published under the title of "The Second Chariot." (Gen. xli. 43.)

2. Comment on the former Prophets; begun in Castille, and completed in Naples. He was engaged on the books of Kings (which, according to the Jewish order, are included in the former Prophets,) when the dispersion from Spain took place.

3. Comment on the latter Prophets, commenced in Corfu, 1495. This was the work which he deferred at the discovery of his long-lost manuscripts on Deuteronomy.

4. "The Wells of Salvation." (Isa. xii. 3.) A Comment on Daniel, which is highly offensive to the Romish Church.

5. "The Preacher of Salvation." (Isa. lii. 7.) A

collection of the principal passages in the Psalms and Prophets, relating to Messiah; from which he endeavours to shew that the Advent was not to occur during the second Temple, as Christians affirm it did. Bartoloccio recommends the Roman authorities not to suffer this book to be read by Jews.

6. "The Saving Strength of His Anointed." (Ps. xxviii. 8.) An explication of the mystical sayings of early rabbis concerning Messiah.

7. "The Crown of Old Men," (Prov. xvii. 6.) which contains an explanation, by means of Deut. ii. 26, of those important passages, Exod. xxiii. 20, &c. and Mal. iii. 1, where Christians assert the Angel or Messenger to be Messiah. This was written in his youth.

8. "Rosh Amana." (Cant. iv. 8. In the English version, "The Top of Amana;" but by interpreting allegorically, the transition is easy to "The Head of the Faith.") This work sums up the Jewish creed in fourteen chapters, intended to supersede the thirteen articles of Moses bar Maimon.

9. "The Sacrifice of Passover." (Exod. xii. 27.) A full account of the Paschal rites, written in 1496. The preface narrates the circumstances of his early life; and in mentioning the kings of Portugal and Spain, he designates them "the men of Sodom." (as Isa. i. 10.)

10. "The Inheritance of the Fathers." (1 Kings xxi. 3.) A Comment on the Talmudic "Chapters of the Fathers."

11. "The Works of God." (Ps. lxvi. 5.) A dissertation on the world, angels, and the Law of Moses, in which he contends against the peripatetic doctrine of the world's eternity; and unsparingly assails or favours the doctrines of Maimonides.

12. "The Book of the New Heavens." On the creation of the world: with an elucidation of the "Guide of the Perplexed," Part ii. ch. 19.

13. "Eternal Justice." In three sections. 1. On Rewards and Punishments. 2. On the World of Living Beings. 3. On the Resurrection and final Judgment.

14. "The Company of the Prophets." (1 Sam. xix. 20.) On the Law of Moses, impugning several points in the "Guide of the Perplexed." It was published as a substitute for—

15. "The Vision of the Almighty," (Num. xxiv. 4. 16.) a work which he had lost.

16. "Book of the Days of the World." A chronology of the persecutions of Israel. This is lost, or was never finished.

17. Dissertation on the Chariot in Ezekiel, in reply to Moses bar Maimon.

Besides several minor tracts attributed to Abarbanel.

CHAPTER XXV.

TRANSACTIONS IN PORTUGAL.

When the king of Portugal admitted the Jews within his realm for payment, the money thus levied was appropriated to his mode of propagating Christianity [1], by subjugation of the Moors in Africa; and the refugees were further bound to quit the kingdom within eight months, or to have their goods confiscated, and themselves be subject to slavery: Alfonso, on the other hand, covenanting to provide them shipping at three separate ports for their departure. As the time drew near, the king was urgent with the ship-masters to cause no unnecessary delay, and to offer no injuries to the Jews [2]. But the same

[1] Osorius, de rebus Emanuelis gestis. [2] Ibid.

ill-treatment was repeated here as in Spain; the preparations were retarded much more than was necessary, and when completed, the passage-fare was raised to exorbitant sums, the provisions were made dear at the time of embarkation, but their price so excessively raised when out at sea, as to leave the sufferers at their places of destination, deprived of all their property; the women were violated, and the men insulted beyond endurance.

From the report of these atrocities, as well as by their destitution at the time, numbers yet remaining were deterred from embarking, and thus became slaves by effect of the royal proclamation, preferring even this to the mental bondage which those few entailed upon themselves who had accepted baptism from fear or love of ease. These Hebrew slaves were distributed by the king to all claimants, upon promise of kind treatment; and it was believed by those most intimate with his designs, that he intended the servitude to be but of short duration. He had in the early part of his reign derived signal benefit from an expedition conducted by two Jews, Abraham de Beia, and Joseph Zapatera, along the Red Sea to the Persian Gulph; and from their information he was induced to expect a passage to India along the opposite coast of Africa. But

soon after the above transactions he died, and was succeeded by Emanuel.

The new king instantly emancipated all the Jews. This was well, but was counteracted by his matrimonial connection with Spain. Ferdinand and Isabella never could have been pleased to see Portugal grow rich by means of the very Jews whom they had ejected, and accordingly they now declared that their daughter should wed with no one who harboured the enemies of the cross of Christ. So the Jews and Moors were upon this account condemned to relinquish the Portuguese territories. Osorius describes the council as divided on the subject; some contending that as the various Christian states of Germany, Poland, and Italy, particularly the papal state, tolerated the Jews, the very same act could not be inimical to Christianity in Portugal; that to banish them for the guilt of impiety would only spread their mischief the more widely: and that if they were sent to live among Mohammedans (which would doubtless be their first and surest refuge,) all possible prospect of their conversion would be destroyed, and all contact with the virtues and doctrines of Christianity be finally severed; besides that whatever riches they carried away, would be so much drawn from Portugal to enrich the infidel Moors with whom

they were at war. On the other side it was argued, that the monarchs of England, France, and Spain, who had chased away the Jews, had been actuated by a motive far more lofty than the consideration of worldly lucre, for they knew the pernicious influence which such infidels had in disturbing the faith of the simple; that it was unwise to retain within access to national secrets, a people whom no religion could bind, and who therefore would supply intelligence to the Moorish enemy; but even in estimation of profit and loss, it were preferable to expel them at once, than at some future time when they should have acquired much greater wealth at the expense of Christians.

Emanuel decided upon the banishment of all Jews not baptized, by a stated day; with the alternative as before, of slavery and confiscation; but when the period came (the early part of 1497,) the king, reflecting upon the deplorable circumstance of so many thousand men, women and children, being thus cast out to sure and everlasting perdition, resolved to provide for the welfare of the young, by removing from the parents every child under fourteen years of age, and by baptizing them to separate them for ever from their unbelieving relatives. "This unjust and iniquitous deed, with a laudable design and

feeling[1]," lacerated the already aching hearts of the seniors: their infants were torn from the convulsive embraces of the mothers, fathers were beaten with clubs to make them surrender their own offspring, the children were dragged by the limbs and hair into the churches, where water was sprinkled on them, and Christian names imposed. Many parents in desperation threw their babes into wells and then slew themselves. The "Sceptre of Judah" relates, that a certain woman after they had snatched away six of her children, cast herself before the king's chariot, entreating to have her youngest one returned to solace her for the loss of the rest; but that while the attendants mocked at her affliction, the king commanded to have her taken away, observing with a laugh, "how much she was like a bitch when her pups are drowned." There were, however, instances of Christians protecting Jewish infants for the parents. But the rest, the victims were dispatched to the newly discovered West-Indian islands, many died of the voyage, and others of the noxious climate, or of serpents: "May God behold with the eyes of righteousness these infamous acts of mortal men, and like a just Judge, assert with his mighty arm, the cause of the friendless[2]."

[1] Osorius.

[2] "Sceptre of Judah."

Unmindful of a king's dignity, Emanuel then restricted the general embarkation to one port, instead of three, as he had promised; and the delay of passing round to Lisbon, when they had made their arrangements elsewhere, subjected many to the penalty denounced for being found in Portugal after the day prescribed. These, if they accepted baptism, were presented with money, and the higher bribe still, with the possession of their children again.

This alteration of the sea-ports has been by some attributed to the royal benevolence, to prevent tyrannical exactions by the ship-owners, by bringing them thus under supervision of the court; it is said that so satisfied were the Jews of this intention, that they offered the king a present of money, which he graciously refused; and in consequence of his kindness many became voluntary converts. "Strange tale," says Basnage, "that a Jew should be converted by your declining to take his money."

So the Church was now victorious in Portugal, and Emanuel was free to marry the young Isabella; but his biographer, the bishop Osorius, exclaims indignantly against the coercion of free-will in religion, which is displeasing to the Almighty, and an infringement on the office of the Holy Spirit, "who alone enlightens, draws, invites, and finally

brings the soul which resists not pertinaciously to the confession and communion of Christ," besides the evil which such constraint induces by casting holy mysteries to those who secretly abhor them. Yet he apologizes for the king's excellent intention, who believed that Jews might in some cases be converted in that manner, and who had been, reminded by religious men that the same things had been done by other princes; he also affirms that good had resulted, for the children had grown up in neglect of Jewish rites and had formed Christian habits of devotion; whereas the Moors, rather than adopt a new creed, had universally and totally emigrated to Africa. But the reason of this latter circumstance is to be found in the fact that no impediments were offered to their retreat from Christianity.

At this second expulsion from Portugal, not only were the Jews welcomed in the Venetian states, and so powerfully sheltered in Florence that it was commonly said, "a man might as well strike the grand duke, as a Jew:" but pope Clement VII. invited even the Jews who had been forcibly baptized to come and live as they pleased in his dominion, without any inquiry being made as to their past life in Portugal. His successors Paul III. and Julius III. having pursued the same policy, at least 18,000 Jews repaired to the states of the

Church, and from their industry Ancona rose to be a flourishing sea-port. The popes refused their license for a Portuguese Inquisition until two general pardons had been proclaimed to the involuntary converts; while king John III. and his brother the cardinal Henry, endeavoured to arrest the defection of the Jews, by declaring that every one attempting to escape should be subject to capital execution; but this was overruled by the principal lawyers of the kingdom.

At Lisbon, in 1506, there was a severe drought, and the plague was raging; the court and richest citizens had fled into the country. About Easter time, there was a large congregation assembled in the church of St. Dominic. In the left-hand aisle of that church, there is a chapel of great celebrity, called Jesus' chapel. Its altar is surmounted by a crucifix, and the wound pierced in the Saviour's side was at that time imitated by red glass. Suddenly, in presence of the numerous worshippers, a light shone out of the wound and threw them into ecstasies of devotional rapture. "A miracle!" they exclaimed: but an incautious new Christian ventured to say, that it was not likely for a wooden image to work a fiery miracle; if indeed it could bring water on the earth, the miracle would be more acceptable. The blasphemy, so called, of this Judas-Jew roused the multitude

to frenzy; from reproaches they proceeded to drag him by the hair of the head, and he was soon a mangled corpse in the court of the cathedral: his brother coming up and bewailing him, was instantly killed also, and the two bodies were burned to ashes. The city flew to arms. A monk cried out to revenge the death of Christ, and the inflammable Portuguese mob were but too much inclined to obedience, especially when two other monks erected a huge cross, exclaiming "Heresy! Heresy!" alternately with "Blood!" and offering one hundred days' indulgence to every Christian that should kill a Jew! The sailors of the Dutch and Baltic shipping in the Tagus leaped ashore and increased the crowd. Five hundred men formed themselves into a band for this horrid execution. They slew or mangled their victims, and cast them, often still living, into the several flaming piles which had already been constructed before the church-doors, to which the lowest wretches, and the negro slaves (then a frightful novelty in Lisbon) brought continual supplies of fuel. Entreaties and lamentations obtained no pity for age or sex; five hundred Jewish converts were murdered and burned on that day. The next day, the populace was augmented from the villages around, and the massacre renewed: houses were broken open, families slain in heaps, infants

dashed against the walls, pregnant women thrown from the windows upon the pikes of the crowd beneath, and all the corpses committed to the flames: while many, who from their places of concealment beheld their own children thus destroyed, dared not to utter any lamentation, even if their terror had not reduced them to stupor.

Meanwhile, the opportunity of plunder was not neglected, and the Dutch sailors even left off the slaughter to convey their booty on board. The magistrates hid themselves from the insurrection they could not suppress. Church-sanctuaries were invaded, and the feeble supplicants dragged from the very embrace of the crucifix to suffer with the rest. Many were killed or wounded for the resemblance of their features to the general Jewish countenance, before they had an opportunity of proving that they had no connexion with Jewish lineage. And private malice seized this occasion for revenge upon personal enemies, by accusing them of Judaic attachment, when there was no ready possibility of demonstrating the contrary. On that day more than a thousand perished.

The third day found the feverish and infuriated Lusitanians still eager for the work, but nearly exhausted in strength. Many of their intended

victims had escaped from the capital, and several were protected in secret by Christian friends, at their own imminent peril. But all discovered were sacrificed. Thus, in three days, about two thousand persons of Hebrew descent, were exterminated: but at length, the chief judges entered Lisbon surrounded by troops, and the tumult subsided. The foreigners weighed anchor and sailed off.

King Emanuel's anger was extreme: dispatching two commissioners from Abrantes with orders to use the greatest severity, he had the monks, who had instigated the whole proceeding, deprived of their religious functions, then strangled and burned. Those in authority who had shrunk from their duty, were deprived of their office and largely fined. The metropolis itself was denuded of its decorations, and had its title in public documents, of the "Most Faithful City," commuted for three years into the "Most Rebellious City." The author of the "Sceptre of Judah" gives his account from the dictation of an eye-witness, as he was himself absent at the time. He adds, that the king wished to demolish the church itself where the transaction had commenced, but was dissuaded from this by his council, as likewise from putting to death all who should be convicted of participating in the murders: for they pro-

duced an ancient law, which provided, that if fifty or more persons were concerned in any loss of life, not all the perpetrators, but only the leaders, were to be responsible. These two statements are not found in Osorius.

During these times the New Christians in Spain, numerous as they were, had their ranks fearfully thinned by the perseverance of the holy Inquisition. Incredible numbers suffered as convicted Jews, during the reigns of Charles V., Philip II., and Philip III. On the accession of the former of these monarchs, but before his quitting Flanders, the Jews, by some negociation, offered to purchase liberty of religion in his dominions, at the price of eight hundred thousand gold crowns. During his hesitation, a message arrived from the Spanish minister Ximenes, urging him to a sense of duty in this matter, and recalling to his remembrance, how his grandfather Ferdinand had disdained a similar temptation; extolling the purity of justice so conspicuous in the acts of the Inquisition, and concluding by the announcement, that he who desired not the Saviour for his sovereign, ought not to be the ruler of a Christian people. Charles yielded, and his government in Spain exceeded even the severity expected by the church, for he not only suppressed the publication of all books reported in the *Index*, but of all

medical works except to licensed persons, on the score that such were generally the writings of Jews and Moors.

On the establishment of independence in Holland, the Jews already residing there had their numbers rapidly increased from the Peninsula. The freedom from Spain and its Inquisition afforded them a wide expansion of commerce, and they greatly served to the prosperity of Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and Antwerp. In these favourable circumstances they were joined by many Ashkenazim Jews, from Poland and Germany; but the Sephardim from Spain and Portugal have always been the most numerous and wealthy in Amsterdam.

The Israelite settlements in Barbary have long cherished a fond attachment to Spain, and they still use a rude dialect of Spanish called the Ladino. Forgetful of injuries when they had opportunities to retaliate, they opened the gates of Oran for their old oppressor Ximenes. During the Spanish possession of that city they were ever faithful subjects; and on one occasion, when the troops mutinied for pay, they furnished the government with the amount, rather than afford the Mohammedans an occasion of profiting by the disadvantage. Yet they were ungratefully expelled even thence in 1669. At Luz, in the

Morocco dominions, they found peace and favour, and their numerous artificers were held in estimation. About A.D. 1600, the emperor sent a Jew named Pacheco, his ambassador to Holland, where he died; and, in 1620 Mulay Mahomet rebuilt their synagogues in Fez, appointing a Jew to be his first minister and treasurer.

The Spanish conquests in America opened an extensive career to the Hebrew Christians under that crown; but the ever-present Inquisition still kept its eye upon them. Sylva and Sobremont are names of Jewish martyrs in Lima; the former having been burned after an imprisonment of thirteen, and the latter of twenty-two years.

The Dutch conquests in Brazil spread the Sephardim Jews from Amsterdam to the Plata, where they enjoyed not merely an extended scope of merchandize, but also the satisfaction of speaking their fathers' language in a free country. On their arrival, numbers of the Brazilian Portuguese, previously regarded as safe Catholics, threw off their mask, and joined the synagogue. This association of Hebrews began to celebrate their rites with so much ostentation and joy, as to exasperate the Romish Church, until from prudential policy the senate was induced to command a more modest privacy in these religious celebrations [1].

[1] Caspar Barlæus, Amst. 1647.

From 1580 to 1640 the crowns of Spain and Portugal were united; but at the latter of these dates, John of Braganza restored the independence of Portugal. Nevertheless it was not long before the ancient minister of the ejected Spaniards, the archbishop of Braga, formed a dangerous conspiracy to subvert the new order of things [1]. Knowing that the Jewish Christians had offered large sums to the actual government to procure a general religious toleration, this ecclesiastical conspirator summoned their leaders to a secret conference: these were greatly disconcerted, expecting that as they had so far committed themselves, they were now to experience the vengeance of the Inquisition. Their confusion the crafty prelate improved for his own ends: beginning by promising his influence with the grand inquisitor, whom they all knew to be at his command, and thus binding them to him by gratitude, he gently insinuated the consideration of the new monarch's bigotry, and the probability that he intended shortly to banish all the suspected Christians, particularly those who had betrayed their real sentiments by the offer they had made him; and finally urged the superior benefit to be derived from re-establishing the Spanish sovereignty; in the name of which

[1] Révolution de Portugal, par l'Abbé Vertot.

he engaged to give them full toleration, and the license of a synagogue in Lisbon.

The lure was highly attractive; and it seems that the dupes of the churchman promised to set fire to the palace and several points of the city, on the fifth of August, when the higher traitors were to kill the king, seize the shipping, and welcome a Spanish fleet and army in the Tagus from cardinal Olivares. But the vigilant government, suspecting some plot to be in progress, set strict guards along the whole extent of the kingdom's confines.

A Jew named Baeze had still a permission to correspond with Spain in virtue of his office as treasurer of the excise. The Jews in the conspiracy were now cut off from all correspondence with Olivares; but they entreated this Baeze to forward a letter for them, without acquainting him with the secret. He consented, and consigned it to the governor of the first town in Spain; but this person was in some degree related to the queen of Portugal, and receiving thus a letter sealed by the Inquisition, addressed to Olivares, he immediately had it carefully placed in the hands of king John. Thus the scheme was frustrated, and the crown of Braganza remained unmoved.

The Jewish events of the eighteenth century in Portuguese America cannot be better related than

by our celebrated historian of that country[1]. "The Inquisition had never been established in Brazil, but it had sent its commissioners there, and by their means had begun the same system which had proved so ruinous, and so inexpiably disgraceful to Portugal. On one occasion these agents of that infernal tribunal arrested and sent to Lisbon a great number of New Christians, industrious, wealthy, and respectable persons, who all confessing themselves to be Jews, because they would have been burned alive if they had persisted in protesting however truly that they were Roman Catholic Christians, escaped the stake as reconciled and repentant convicts, but suffered the loss of all their property. That property went to the hell-hounds by whom the game was started and run down: but so wide a ruin was produced that many *engenhos* at the Rio stopped in consequence, and the great diminution of produce occasioned a diminution of shipping from that port. The minister[2], powerful as he was, did not venture to proclaim a toleration for the Jews, which Vieyra a century before his time had strenuously contended for, regardless of the danger that he brought upon himself; but he delivered the New Christians from the horrible state of perpetual in-

[1] Southey's Brazil, iii. 587.

[2] Marquis de Pombal.

security in which they had hitherto existed, by making it penal for any person to reproach another for his Jewish origin, and by removing all disabilities of Jewish blood even from the descendants of those who had suffered under the Inquisition, and from those who had themselves been brought under its cognizance. In furtherance of this good purpose he prohibited the public autos-da-fé, those solemn triumphs of the holy office and the Roman Church, and suffered no lists to be printed of those who received judgment in private. Before the fiery age of persecution began, a tax had been laid upon all who were of Jewish extraction, and rolls of the families liable to this assessment were at this time carefully preserved as guides for the familiars, and text-books for obloquy and malice. Oeyras obtained an edict that all such lists should be delivered in, on pain of severe chastisement for any person in whose possession such a document should afterwards be found. These were the redeeming acts of Pombal's administration, for which Brazil and Portugal have still reason to bless his name, and none of his acts drew upon him more outrageous calumny and abuse. He was accused of being bribed by the Jews for half a million of cruzados, to effect these measures in their favour, which were so injurious

to the interests of religion! of having Jewish blood in his own veins, and moreover of having been circumcised himself in Holland. Such were the stupid calumnies which were propagated against Pombal for the best action of his life."

CHAPTER XXVI.

SEPHARDIM JEWS SINCE THE GREAT EXILE—CONCLUSION.

THE Jewish attachment to the Spanish soil must be extreme, when so many could cling to it at the hazard of the most horrible tortures and deaths that man ever devised against his fellows; and even as a body, unaffected by individual suspicion of Judaism, the New Christians were not placed on a footing with the old immaculate Spaniards. In Biscay they were not even admitted to reside; for by the thirteenth law of the Fueros it is enacted, that in order to preserve the purity of blood where every man is *hidalgo*, all persons whatever, entering Biscay to dwell there, shall within sixty days prove to the corregidor, veedor, or their substitutes, the entire exemption of their pedigree from the taint of Jewish or Moorish pollution.

But in the more wealthy provinces of Spain and Portugal, the dissimulation practised by Jews to prolong their sojourn is probably without parallel in the history of the world. They obtained important trusts, practised the liberal professions, held chairs in the Christian universities, intermarried with Castilian families: concealing their names, they assumed armorial bearings, purchased crosses of knighthood, arrived at bishoprics, nay, even became judges in the Inquisition, yet remained Jews still. Orobio declared, that in Amsterdam he knew of Jews performing vicarious penance in the synagogues for their dissembling brothers, &c., who were Franciscans, Dominicans, and Jesuits in Spain[1].

Numerous instances such as the following have transpired, of Spanish Christians withdrawing

[1] That the scattered Sephardim synagogues were still mindful of their connections on the continent, appears by the following extract from their Liturgy. (Levi's Prayers. For the Eve of the Atonement.) The words in Italics are printed in the Portuguese language, not Hebrew. "A prayer for all our brethren confined by the Inquisition.—May He who blessed our ancestors, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; Moses and Aaron; David and Solomon; bless, preserve, guard, and assist *all our distressed brethren confined by the Inquisition.* May the supreme King of the Universe bless and purify them, and hearken to the voice of their supplications, and bring them forth from darkness to light; which God (in His infinite mercy) grant, and let us say, Amen."

voluntarily to Italy or Holland, &c., and avowing their Judaism.

I. Amatus, who had long practised physic in Portugal under the name of Rodriguez Castelli Albi; he retired to Italy, and surrendered his Christianity.

II. Zacut, of a wealthy Lisbon family. Having studied at Salamanca and Coimbra, he returned to Lisbon, where he practised medicine to rich and poor indiscriminately for thirty years: but being at length denounced to the Inquisition, he fled to Amsterdam, and assumed an open Judaism.

III. Isaac Cardoso, of Portugal, became one of the first physicians of Castille. Removing to Verona, he abandoned the forced creed, together with his Christian name of Ferdinand.

IV. Don Balthasar Orobio, professor of metaphysics in Salamanca. He afterwards applied himself to medical study and practice, until seized by the Inquisition, as one suspected of religious defection. In their dungeons he underwent repeated tortures, and he afterwards described the wandering of his mind at this period, when, pacing along his cell, he would exclaim

"Am I indeed that Balthasar Orobio who lately walked freely about Seville, and had a wife and children?" At other times he imagined his past life to have been a dream, or amused himself with framing metaphysical discussions[1], taking successively the parts of opponent, respondent, and moderator; still retaining sufficient command over his own mind, to deny even in these discussions that he was a Jew. After three years imprisonment, he was once more put to the *question*, and as this failed to extort confession, the judges ordered his wounds to be cured, and dismissed him. He retired to France, and at Toulouse became professor of physic; but at length, wearied with the constraint of dissimulation, he repaired to Amsterdam, and was circumcised by the name of Isaac, still practising physic. Orobio has acquired a reputation among theological writers by his "Three Writings" for investigation of the Divine authority of Christianity: which, together with replies by Limborch, are published under the title of the "Amicable Conference." The whole argument is conducted on both sides with calmness and forbearance; but Orobio died a Jew. He also wrote:

[1] Galileo chalked diagrams on the walls of his cell in the Roman Inquisition, in demonstration of the assertion "Eppur si muove."

1. A philosophical defence of the Revealed and Natural Law: against Spinoza.

2. Letter to a philosophical physician in defence of the Mosaic Law.

3. "Israel Avenged," or an exposition of those Hebrew prophecies which Christians apply to their Messiah.

(Also still unprinted.)

4. The Divine prohibition of Gentile idolatry.

5. Reply to a preacher, on the perpetuity of the Mosaic Law.

6. Reflections on Isa. liii.

7. Reflections on the seventy weeks of Daniel.

V. Uriel Acosta, born at Oporto in the end of the sixteenth century, of rich New-Christian parents, educated in various sciences, and ultimately in the Law. He has left a record of his life entituled "Exemplar Humanæ Vitæ," from which it appears, that in his youth he was deeply affected with religious impressions, but his conscience found no relief from the external prescriptions of Judaism or Popery. He read the Scriptures, comments, church-history, and still finding no comfort, his agony of mind became excessive. At the age of twenty-five he was made treasurer of a collegiate church, and he then devoted his lei-

sure anew to Moses and the Prophets. From these (doubtless from the effect of bias received in childhood,) he arrived at the conviction of the truth of the Old Testament and falsehood of the New. Conscientiously resigning his office, he went to Amsterdam in company with his brother, whom he had lately instructed in the Mosaic principles. There they were circumcised, and he renounced his Christian name of Gabriel. But the Judaic religion he had conceived in private study was that of the Bible, not of the traditions; and great was his disappointment to discover the gross discrepancy between the doctrine of the Prophets and that of modern synagogues. He ventured to rebuke the rabbis; they in return threatened excommunication. Acosta, who had in his uprightness forsaken his native home rather than fall in with Roman errors, despised their threats, and the anathema being pronounced, he found himself suddenly abandoned by his most intimate friends. He now resumed his reading of the Hebrew law, and embraced Sadduceeism as the true faith of Moses; and the book which this opinion inspired, "On the Immortality of the Soul," delighted his enemies, as it cleared them in the eyes of Christians from the imputation of tyrannical rashness: the Jewish children were taught to hoot him in the street as an atheist,

and to batter his house with stones. Being accused before the magistrates of the city, with endeavouring to undermine both Christianity and Judaism, his works were seized, and himself fined in three hundred florins. The wretched man, thus goaded out of his natural gentleness and mistaken sincerity, proceeded to investigate further the divine commission of Moses, and came to the conclusion that it was but a political imposture. All revelation being thus renounced, and with it all effective morality, he set about to be reconciled to his synagogue after fifteen years' excision; for as he believed the rabbis to be all hypocrites, why not act as he supposed they did, in order to be restored to society[1]? This was effected by means of public recantation: yet, soon afterwards, he was publicly charged by his own nephew with sheer infidelity. So he was again expelled, and suffered seven years of extreme privations. At last he testified renewed contrition, and was re-admitted after recantation, a scourging of forty stripes save one at a pillar in the synagogue, and lying on the threshold to be trampled upon by the congregation passing out. The sad tale is to be wound up by the facts that, under the prevalence of his infidelity, he fired a

[1] "Simiam inter simias agendo." Exemplar, &c.

pistol from his door at one he believed to be his enemy, but missing in the aim, he shot himself immediately with another;—a frightful example of prayerless declension from God. His "Exemplar Humanæ Vitæ" is written in a strangely melancholy tone of irony.

VI. In a book of the Rev. L. Addison, 1675, describing the Jews of Barbary, it is stated, that a medical practitioner from Zaragoza came to Africa, and received circumcision at the age of forty; declaring that his recent Christianity had been like that of others, not an affair of the heart, but of nerves and muscles. Another deserter is mentioned as having been so sure a Catholic as to be entrusted with the sale of indulgences: of these he sold several in Spain, and crossed from Malaga to Barbary, where he disposed of the rest to some Irish residents: having the money safely in his pocket, he proclaimed himself a Jew: the purchasers appealed to the cadi against the cheat, but he claimed the privilege of a free port to sell all kinds of merchandize. Also two Dominicans arrived from Spain at Leghorn, and cast away their monkery for the fellowship of the synagogue. These escapes were effected despite the guardianship of the Inquisition: but the "Acts of Faith" were continued to a date almost within

present memory: and the Jews preserved regular catalogues of their martyrs. Among these were:

In 1533, Solomon Molcho, who had been private secretary to the king of Portugal, but renouncing his Christianity in Italy, fell afterwards into the power of the Inquisition, and was burned alive with a bridle in his mouth.

In 1603, a monk of the Ascension order was burned on the same charge in Lisbon.

One Lope de la Vera, a youthful student of Salamanca, boldly avowed his Judaism, and circumcised himself in prison, calling himself Judah the Believer. He was consequently brought to the stake.

In 1631, a youth named Simon Perez Solio was tortured and burned for stealing a silver pix from a church: but the really guilty person, who had been a witness of this execution, afterwards confessed to the fact [1].

In 1632, an "Act of Faith" was celebrated at Madrid for committing to the flames a whole family, accused of having flogged a crucifix, till the Christ upon it bled profusely, and exclaimed, "Why do ye scourge me thus cruelly [2]?"

In 1655, a New Christian, named Almeyda, was burned at Compostella; and one Mines at Cordova.

In 1656, one Isaac Jeshurun was accused at

[1] Menasseh ben Israel. [2] Ibid.

Zaragoza of having killed a girl, for the sake of her blood to mingle with the Passover biscuit.

In 1680, nineteen persons and thirty-four effigies were burned at Madrid, to celebrate the entry of the new queen.

In 1682, three others were thus executed in Lisbon.

And in 1723, Philip V. presented to our Lady of Atocha in Madrid, three standards captured from the Moors at Ceuta: and on this joyful occasion, twelve lapsed New Christians passed into the flames.

Nor were popular insurrections wanting to keep the converts within the wholesome discipline of terror. In 1605, four or five thousand became victims to the preaching of a Dominican friar.

The church, however, boasts of two eminent converts from the Sephardim Jews.

I. Johanan Hatobel, born in Portugal, who wrote

1. "Christian Consolation and Light for the Jewish People;" or the Psalms of the royal Prophet David rendered literally.

2. "Dialogue between a Disciple and a Catechist, with literal extracts from Scripture and the Rabbis."

II. Judas Jona, of Spanish descent, but born at Saphet in Palestine, where he took his rabbinical degree. After this he went to Amsterdam, where a disputed will involving the sum of three hundred thousand gold crowns had been decided; this decision he quashed, and was supported by eighty-seven rabbis of Germany and Thessalonica. The Hamburg Jews then elected him their ruler. After some time he removed to Poland, and there in the very hot-bed of rabbinic bigotry, he became a convert to Christianity. King Sigismund III. appointed him his jeweller, and dispatched him to Constantinople for additional purchases. On his way he was seized by the Cossacks near the Black Sea, but redeemed by the Venetian ambassador in Turkey, who brought him to Italy: and at Rome he became the Hebrew instructor of Bartoloccio, and prompted the design of the "Bibliotheca Magna Rabbinica." His memory was so prodigious, that it was supposed he could have replaced the whole Talmud, if all the copies had been burned.

The literature of Spanish Jews since the great exile and the invention of printing, has suffered no detriment, for the following authors have added to the ancient reputation.

I. R. Abraham bar R. Samuel Zacut, of Sala-

manca. After teaching astronomy at Zaragoza, he retired to Portugal, where, under the auspices of king Emanuel, he wrote :—

1. "The Juhhassin," or Jewish genealogies from Abraham to A.D. 1500, with passing occasional remarks.

2. "Sweet to the Soul." (Prov. xvi. 24.) On the future state, and separation of spirit from the body.

3. "Forty Years Old." (Gen. xxv. 20.) Astrological.

4. A Perpetual Almanack of the planetary motions, in Latin.

5. On Astronomy: a work mentioned by Sabtai.

II. R. Solomon ben Virga. A Spanish physician, in high repute among his people before the general expatriation, for they intrusted him with their collection of money for their imprisoned brethren at Malaga. Having found, at the end of a book compiled by his ancestor R. Judah, a number of narratives on the various sufferings of the Jews since the fall of the second temple, he conceived the idea of compiling the "Sceptre of Judah;" a work which consists of many varied incidents, such as persecutions, controversial

dialogues, epistles, characteristic anecdotes, &c. relating to the modern Jews: but the conversations are so precisely detailed, even of several ages before his time, as to prove that his own invention was often employed during the progress of the book, and real occurrences are dilated by religious argumentation of the persons concerned. In recording supposed controversies with Christians, the points are generally stated with great fairness and candour. It is concluded by a supplementary collection of similar narratives by his son Joseph, from some other book.

The "Sceptre of Judah" has been translated into Latin by Geo. Gentius, and this is the version referred to throughout this book whenever the work is quoted; into Spanish by Meir de Leon, and into German by one unknown, which has been several times reprinted. All these are said by De Rossi to be very free and inexact translations. An earlier Latin version was made in the life-time of the author, by P. Honorius, a Cistercian monk, but has never been printed.

In the course of the work, R. Solomon refers to another book of his writing, called "The Rod of his Anger," (Prov. xxii. 8.) in which he had described the massacre of Toledo.

III. R. Joseph Karo, nephew of Isaac Karo of Toledo. Author of—

1. "The House of Joseph," on the "Four Orders" of Jacob bar Asher.

2. "Double Money." (Gen. xliii. 12.) Reflections on the works of Moses bar Maimon.

3. "Preacher of Righteousness." Elucidations of dark passages in Scripture.

4. Legal decisions.

5. Talmudic rules.

IV. R. Abraham Tsaalon, removed to Saphet in Galilee; the rest of his family were settled in Rome.

1. "The Salvation of our God;" (Ps. xcviii. 3.) a literal and moral comment on Esther.

2. "The Medicine of the Soul;" on conversion and penitence.

3. "The Hand of the Diligent;" (Prov. x. 4.) on the Christian, Hebrew, and Mohammedan calendars.

V. R. Jacob Mantinus; an excellent physician of Spanish descent; who wrote several original books, besides translating into Latin—

1. "The Guide of the Perplexed," and Preface to the "Chapters of the Fathers" by Moses bar Maimon.

2. Some Arabic medical tracts by Avicenna.

3. The Exposition of Averroes on the "Isagoge" of Porphyry.

4. Averroes' four first books on the "Topic" of Aristotle.

5. A Paraphrase on the "Republic" of Plato, and dedicated to Pope Paul III.

6. A proœmium to the "Physics" of Aristotle; Paraphrase of the four books, "de Partibus Animalium;" Remarks on Ch. v. and xxxvi. of Book III. "on the Soul;" Paraphrase of Book V. "de Generatione Animalium;" Proœmium to Ch. xii. of the "Metaphysics;" Epitome of the "Metaphysics."

7. The Annotations of R. Levi ben Gershom on Averroes.

8. Paraphrase of Averroes on Plato's "Republic."

VI. R. Abraham Cohen, ruler at Bologna in 1540.

1. "The Book of the Pious."

2. "Remarks on the Postulates of Rab Acha."

VII. R. Joseph ben Joshua ben Meir; accounted the best Jewish historian since Josephus. He wrote—

1. A Chronicle from the Creation to 1554.

2. A Chronicle of the French Crusades, and of Wars among Christians themselves.

VIII. R. Shem Tob of Leon, ben R. Joseph Palkira.

1. "Steps of Moral Progress."
2. "The Requirer of Wisdom and Discipline."
3. "The Beginning of Wisdom."
4. "Medicine for Sorrow."
5. On Discipline of Soul and Body.
6. Apology for the "Guide of the Perplexed."
7. Annotations on the "Guide of the Perplexed."
8. Comment on the Scriptures.
9. "Letter of Dispute," to examine whether or not the meditation of the Law is preferable to active religious exercise.

IX. R. Joseph ben Virga, wrote Supplementary rules for interpretation of Gemara, called the "Remnant of Joseph," (Amos v. 15.) and the Supplementary anecdotes to the "Sceptre of Judah."

X. R. Abraham Sabaa of Portugal. In seven years after the expulsion from Lisbon, he returned to discover if a settlement were yet practicable

for himself and a few others, but was disappointed in his hope. His writings are:—

1. "The Bundle of Myrrh." (Cant. i. 13.) Rather Cabalistic, and much esteemed by the Jews.

2. "The Bundle of Money." (Gen. xlii. 35.) A collection of legal decisions.

3. "Comment on the Law;" in which, at the section, "If ye will walk in my ways," &c. he gives a narration of the Spanish exile.

XI. Israel ben R. Israel ben Moses Nagera, ben R. Levi Nagera. Removed from Spain to the East, and published—

1. Letters, praised for their elegance.

2. On Contempt of the World.

3. "Hymns of Israel."

4. "Waters of Israel," viz. Siloah, Menahhoth, Meribah, Metzur, and Zahab. With an Appendix of other poems.

5. Some Comments, as yet unprinted.

At Damascus he was accustomed to attend the mosques to collect their musical tunes, to which he would adapt Hebrew or Chaldee verses.

XII. R. Judah ben R. Solomon ben Alcophni, often denominated Charizi.

1. Translation of the "Guide of the Perplexed,"

from the Arabic; but almost unknown, as that by R. Samuel Tibbon still maintains its ground.

2. Translation into Hebrew of the "Orchard of Pomegranates," by R. Hhasdai bar Abraham.

3. Translation into Hebrew of Galen's "Book of the Soul," from the Arabic of Bar Hhasdai bar Abraham.

4. Translation into Hebrew from R. Hhananiah's "Sentences of the Philosophers."

5. Translation into Hebrew of Aristotle on Government.

6. Translation into Hebrew from the Arabic poems of Abu Mohammed Alchasne di Borra.

7. "Letter on Teaching."

8. Comment on the "Order of Seeds" by Moses bar Maimon.

9. Introduction to Moses bar Maimon on the Mishna.

10. Aphorisms in verse, on bodily health.

11. "Book of Wisdom." Poems.

12. The "Tahhchemoni," and other poems, composed expressly to prove that the Hebrew language possesses all the fulness and variety of the Aririan dialect of Arabic, which was the favourite dialect of Arabian poets. The poems of this author are reckoned of superlative beauty by competent judges.

XIII. R. Joseph Nasi, who relinquished his Portuguese Christianity, and published at Constantinople, in 1577, "The Fruitful Bough of Joseph," (Gen. xlix. 22.) an account of a dispute on religion held with a Christian. A supplement is subjoined by R. Isaac Onkeneira, who was also present.

XIV. Daniel Levi de Barrios, of Montillo, near Cordova. Under the name of Miguel de Barrios he was long a nominal Christian, and an officer in the Portuguese army. Retiring to judaize in Amsterdam, he wrote in Spanish—

1. "The Triumph of Popular Government, and the Antiquity of Holland;" expatiating also on the democratic form of the old Israelitish commonwealth.

2. An Account of Judæo-Spanish writers.

3. Essay on Universal Jewish History.

4. "Chorus of the Muses," a volume of fluent poetry written before he quitted the army.

XV. R. Jacob Rosales, of Amsterdam:—

1. "The 'Governance of the Stars' Reformed." A large work.

2. "On the Portuguese Monarchy." Written in Latin and Portuguese.

3. An Astrological Prediction, in Latin hexameters.

4. Latin Elegies.

XVI. R. Solomon Usque:—

1. A Spanish version of Petrarch.

2. A Tragedy on the subject of Esther.

3. Hymn on the Six Days' Creation, dedicated to Saint Charles Borromeo.

XVII. R. Samuel Usque. Author of "Consolation for the Tribulations of Israel;" Ferrara, 1553. Dedicated to Doña Gracia Nasi, aunt and mother-in-law to Don Joseph Nasi, whom Abu Ab terms "Duke of Nasia." The work consists of three parts, under the names of Jacob, Nahum, and Zachariah, which portray with heart-rending[1] animation the course of massacres, exiles, and calumnies which have afflicted his nation since the great dispersion, and holds out the richness of the prophetic promises, as a balm for the present and encouragement for the future.

XVIII. R. Gedaliah Jahhiia; wrote the "Chain of Tradition," in three large divisions. 1. Sacred

[1] "Che le lamentazioni feriscono il cuore."—De Rossi.

Chronology, and Account of Hebrew Writers up to his time. 2. On the World and the Stars; on the Formation before Birth, and the Origin of the Soul; on Spirits and Incantations; and on Ancient Hebrew Coins, valued by those of Bologna in his time. 3. On the Creation of the World, Angels, Devils, Paradise, Hell, the Earliest Language, the Language of the Mosaic Law; on Discoveries, on the Rise of Kingdoms, and the most notable events of various ages and countries.

XIX. R. Joseph, ben David, ben Joseph, aben Jahhiia; born in Portugal, 1494; and withdrew to Italy, where he wrote:—

1. "The Way of Life." (Jer. xxi. 8.)

2. "The Lamp of the Commandment." (Prov. vi. 23.)

3. "The Law of Light;" on the beatitude of paradise, on hell, and on the world to come.

4. "The Light of the People;" consisting of philosophical, judicial, and doctrinal decisions.

He died of a complaint brought on by excessive study; aged forty-five.

XX. R. Zacut, born in Lisbon, 1575. A physician, before-mentioned, who surrendered his in-

voluntary Christianity. He wrote, among other works:—

1. An Account of some extraordinary Cures of Stone.

2. On Medical Practice.

3. History of the Practice of the most eminent Physicians, in ten books.

XXI. R. David Pardo ben Joseph Pardo. Translated into Spanish, the "Obligation of the Heart," by R. Behhai. It was printed at Thessalonica, in Hebrew characters.

XXII. R. Joshua ben Joseph Pinto, of Portuguese descent at Damascus:—

1. Comment on the Law.

2. "Reprobate Silver," (Jer. vi. 30.) Sermons on the Lamentations.

3. "Refined Silver," (1 Chr. xxix. 4.) Sermons on the Proverbs.

4. "The Light of the Eyes." (Prov. xv. 30.) Annotations on the "Fountain of Jacob," by Aben Hhaviv.

XXIII. Isaac Cardoso, wrote:—

1. "Liberal Philosophy," in Latin.

2. On the Utility of Water and Snow, with the use of cold and warm Drinks. In Spanish.

3. "The Virtues of the Hebrews," detailing ten privileges of Jews above all other nations, and rebutting ten calumnious charges which have been laid to them. In Spanish.

XXIV. R. David Cohen de Lara; died in Amsterdam, 1674. Author of "The Crown of the Priesthood," a Hebrew Dictionary for the Bible and Talmud.

XXV. R. David Nieto; born at Venice, of Spanish family, in 1654. Judge, Preacher, and Physician at Leghorn; thence invited to the Sephardim congregation in London. He wrote:—

1. On Divine Providence.
2. "The Flame of the Law."
3. Historical Notices of the Inquisition.
4. "Paschologia." On the dates of the Greek and Roman Easters. Written in Italian, and dedicated to Cardinal Francis di Medici.
5. Reply to the Sermon of the Archbishop of Cranganor, at the Auto da fé in Lisbon, 1705.
6. Spanish version of the second part of R. Judah the Levite's Cozari.
7. "The Tribe of Dan;" an argumentative conversation in the manner of Cozari, to prove the divine authority of the Traditions, against the Karaim.

XXVI. R. Solomon Oliviera, of Amsterdam; died 1708.

1. Hebrew Grammar.

2. "The Tree of Life," a Hebrew lexicon.

3. Hebrew Alphabet, with a Portugese explanation of terms in the Gemara.

4. Hebrew and Portuguese Vocabulary.

5. "Ways of Pleasantness." Rabbinical logic.

6. "Ways of the Lord." Precepts of the Law.

7. "The Loving Hind." (Prov. v. 19.) Hebrew rhetoric.

8. Chain of the Terminations; on rhymes.

9. "Easy and Curious Calendar of Lunar with Solar Calculations for the Festival Days."

XXVII. R. Immanuel Abu-Ab; published in 1625—

1. "Nomologia;" on the Mosaic Law, in Spanish.

2. "The Empire of Reason."

3. "The Prop of Truth," i. e. the Talmud.

The two latter he only commenced. In the "Nomologia" he relates, that at Venice he had pronounced an harangue before the University, in vindication of his nation's fidelity, with proofs from ancient and modern history.

XXVIII. R. Isaac Atias, of Amsterdam.

1. "Treasury of the Precepts," in Spanish.

2. Translation into Spanish of the "Fortress of the Faith," by R. Isaac ben Abraham, against Christianity.

XXIX. R. Joseph Arias, of Amsterdam, published in 1687 a Spanish version of Josephus against Apion.

XXX. R. Jacob Abendana, of Amsterdam and London; died in 1696.

1. A Letter of Dispute on the Glory of the Second Temple.

2. A Spanish version of the Mishna.

3. An elegant translation of Cozari, preferred by Simonius and De Rossi to that of Buxtorf.

XXXI. R. Isaac Abu-Ab, fourteen years ruler of synagogues in Brazil. Returning to Amsterdam, he died there, aged eighty-eight, and R. Solomon Oliviera pronounced his funeral oration. His writings were:—

1. Comment on the Law: brief and elegant.

2. Philosophy of the Law.

3. "Triumph of Moses:" a poem.

4. Translation of Herrera's "Gate of Heaven."

5. Numerous Sermons.

XXXII. R. Menasseh ben Israel, of Portuguese descent; ruler of the Amsterdam synagogues. He married one of the Abarbanels, and was himself distantly related to that family. His writings are in Hebrew, Arabic, Latin, and Spanish, and exhibit superior talent, with extensive reading and knowledge of the world. During the usurpation of Cromwell he came to London, and addressed an appeal "To his Highness the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland," as well as a declaration to the Commonwealth itself, to try, if "by God's good hand over me, I may obtain here for my nation, the liberty of a free and public synagogue." His efforts met success; and he died in 1652. The writings of this eminent rabbi are—

1. "The Conciliator," or reconcilement of Scriptural passages apparently contradictory.

2. "The Law of Moses," with the precepts separated into positive and negative.

3. The Bible in Spanish, with notes.

4. "The Treasury of Judges;" an epitome of the Mishna.

5. "Œconomica;" on the relation and duties of Matrimony.

6. "The Precious Stone;" on the Statuè of Nebuchadnezzar.

7. Panegyric addressed to Christina, Queen of Sweden.

8. Congratulatory Address to the Prince of Orange.

9. "The Secret of Rulers;" written in his youth.

In Hebrew.

10. "The Hope of Israel," (Jer. xiv. 8.) grounded on a false report of a kingdom of Jews being discovered among the Andes in Peru.

11. "The Breath of Life." (Gen. ii. 7.) On the Reasonable Soul, its essence and operation. 1. Man immortal as the Angels. 2. The Union and Separation of Soul and Body. 3. The Operation of these Conditions. 4. Against Transmigration of Souls.

12. Index to the Rabboth.

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Phoclis, a Greek poet, rendered in Spanish.
Arabic Targum on the Law.
Elucidation of R. Levi ben Gershom "On the Soul."
Morals of the Modern Jews.

XXXIII. Abraham Usque; published at Ferrara, in 1573, a Spanish translation of the Bible, at the expense of Jom Tob Atias ben Levi Atias, and dedicated it to Doña Gracia Nasi, as his relative R. Samuel had addressed his "Consolations of Israel" twenty years before. In the title-page it is said to be "translated word for word from the Hebrew original by very eminent scholars, revised and examined by the office of the Inquisition."

Another edition of the same work was published about the same time for the reading of Christians, and dedicated by Duart Pinel and Jerome de Vargas to the Duke Hercules II., Esté of Ferrara.

The title-page bears the Christian date instead of the Hebrew; and this edition renders a few of the controverted passages in the same sense as that authorised by the Church, e. g. Isa. vii. 14 [1].

This Ferrara Bible, confessedly not the work of its publishers, has by Voetius, Le Long, Sarmiento, Hottinger, and others, been ascribed to the celebrated R. David Kimhhi, or some one of his time, from the combination of these two facts:—1. That in 1547 was printed at Constantinople, a book of the Hebrew Law of Moses, with the Targum of Onkelos, the modern Greek version, and a Spanish version printed in Hebrew characters: the difference between the Spanish versions of Ferrara and Constantinople is not greater than between two editions of any one other work, but the version of Constantinople was printed twenty-six years before that of Ferrara. 2. The style of dialect in both is midway between the language of the Fuero Juzgo, and of the translation made by order of Alonso the Wise; and R. David Kimhhi lived during that interval of 550 years.

Such is the theory. In reply, De Rossi demonstrates the fallacy of the first assertion; and as to the second, considers it probable that the Ferrarese translators had some ancient Bible before

[1] De Rossi, de Typographiâ Hebræo Ferrarensi.

them, but it need not be attributed to the famous grammarian.

Abraham Usque, in his preface, declares it to have been accomplished under his own supervision, and refers its antique forms of expression to the very unusual plan of its translation, namely, the rendering one Castilian for every individual Hebrew word, neither more nor less, without the least inflection of signification, and regardless of idiom, metaphor, or doctrinal consequences [1]; for this purpose the gravity of old language was found the most convenient. In 1622, Cassiodoro Reyna produced a Christian Spanish Bible at Francfort, as an improvement upon that of Ferrara. This translator justly observes, that there is no possibility of giving the accurate sense of Scripture in that verbal rigidity; the comparison of phrases will often shew different meanings to the very same word: there must occasionally be doubtful senses; above all, there must be a bias in the translator's mind which will influence his punctuation, or the disposition of words in a sentence, or the use of particles, on each of which so much depends.

[1] In the same manner Arias Montanus, a Spaniard, rendered his Latin Bible from the Hebrew, at the end of the eighteenth century. It is the style of the Judæo-Spanish liturgies, to which it imparts a dignified terseness.

Of this a remarkable specimen is adduced in the controverted passage (Isa. ix. 6.) where the Ferrara Bible gives, "For unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given; and the government shall be upon his shoulder, and the Wonderful, the Counsellor, the Mighty God, the Everlasting Father, shall call his name the Prince of Peace." And it is true that this variation can be made without changing one jot or tittle of the Hebrew text, provided the punctuation be suppressed, and common sense laid aside for the moment.

In the preface to the Christian edition at Ferrara, the editors complain that the Bible was then to be found in all languages except the Spanish, which is so copious, and so widely diffused over Europe and the provinces beyond it; but this fact is very characteristic of the "Most Catholic" influence[1]. In the preface to the Jewish edition, it is nobly[2] exhorted, "Let every one read it freely as he pleases, for the Word of God never did harm to any; and I fear nothing from the confusion that different judgments may create: since the Bible is faultless in itself. 'This book of the law shall not depart out of thy mouth:

[1] The fourth canon of Trent, in 1564, sweeps away at once all vernacular Bibles; and the Spanish Indices of 1570, 1583, and 1584, are still more restrictive. (Church of England Review, No. 1.)

[2] Acts xvii. 11.

but thou shalt meditate therein day and night, that thou mayest observe to do all that is written therein.'"

The Jews are entitled to our gratitude, not only for having employed the earliest stages of the art of printing for the dissemination of Hebrew Scripture; but as the early and secure trustees of the ancient manuscripts, which they regard with profound veneration. In Leon they preserved a precious MS., said to have been the property of R. Hillel, or R. Akiba, in the second Christian century; and this they made the standard of all new copies. David Kimhhi saw it at Toledo, where it was thenceforth kept till the Spanish exile, when it was conveyed to Africa. R. Moses bar Maimon copied all his quotations of Scripture from a volume at Cairo, said to have been brought from Jerusalem, before the destruction of the second temple. Cardoso believed, that at Damascus there were books in his time, not only as old as the Christian æra, but even as the days of Ezra. And pilgrimages are still made to a volume of the Law at Cairo, which is believed to be one thousand years old[1].

And now but little remains to be said respect-

[1] Wolff's Journal, 1824.

ing the doubly dispersed Spanish Jews. The devices on the title-pages of their early printed books are made emblematical of their sorrows and their unbroken hopes. The Ferrara Bible bears a wood-cut of a ship tossed in a storm, the mast broken, and the oars scattered over the waves. Cardoso's "Virtues of the Hebrews" has upon its first part, a hand scattering flowers from the skies, with the motto "He who dispersed will gather;" and to the second part, a rose surrounded by thistles, and the words, "Though they curse, I will bless;" and the preface to this book recalls with triumph the prediction, "I have loved thee with an everlasting love;" and, "For a small moment have I forsaken thee, but with great mercies will I gather thee."

Such are the sentiments of Israel, but mingled even in this respect with an erroneous belief, since they look for a restoration in recompense for their constancy in the Covenant. From St. Petersburg to Ceylon, from the Yellow Sea[1] to Lima, whereever Jews are found, they profess that they have but one earthly home; they purchase at high prices the smallest parcels of Jerusalem earth, sealed and attested by their rabbis, to be placed

[1] Respecting Jews in China, see Calmet's Dictionary, iv. 252. (1823.)

with them in their coffins, if the proverb be not fulfilled to them, "Next year in Jerusalem!" The wealth which they accumulate is always of the most portable kind, as coin, plate, and jewels, ready for immediate embarkation. Let Turks and Egyptian Arabs contend as they will for the territory which has never been alienated [1], and which, indeed, has never yet been enjoyed to the extent of the promise (i. e. from the Euphrates to the river of Egypt); the Jews are still free to do as they did during their captivity in Babylon, to "buy fields (among themselves) for money, and subscribe evidences and seal them, and take witnesses in the land of Benjamin, and in the places about Jerusalem, and in the cities of Judah, and in the cities of the mountains, and in the cities of the valley, and in the cities of the South [2]."

Meanwhile, the Sephardim Jews are the most numerous in Jerusalem. In Lisbon they have obtained a lodgment, as a recompense for having relieved the city during a famine under John VI.; and although held in a kind of proscription, they are esteemed for integrity of character, and among themselves they maintain a recollection of their

[1] Levit. xxv. 23. "The land shall not be sold, for ever."

[2] Jer. xxxii. 44.

former importance, by keeping their liturgies, and inculcating doctrines to their children in the pure Castilian tongue, instead of the degenerate Portuguese or the rude Ladino of Barbary.

In Spain there is no probability that the recent changes of government will admit the Hebrews to defile that sacred soil. One English traveller[1] describes a constitutionalist observing to him, "I hate oppression in every shape: I am a friend to the human race: if indeed there be a Jew among us, burn him, I say, burn him alive," &c.

Another[2] relates, that in Valencia, 1830, a Jew was hanged during a popular tumult, excited by the priests, for having imprudently declared his opinions: and this was done, notwithstanding the remonstrances of municipal authorities, and even of O'Reilly, the military commander of the province.

The only Jews at the present time in Spain, are found in the now free ports of Cadiz, Seville, &c. where they merely reside without religious toleration; or those descendants of the old times, secret Jews under Christian profession, and of whom there subsists one whole street-full in Madrid[3]. In the British territory of Gibraltar they

[1] Portugal and Gallicia. [2] Year in Spain, i. 126.
[3] Wolff's Journal.

have freedom and encouragement: the result of which is a Jewish population of respectable character, amounting, in 1824[1], to sixteen hundred, with four synagogues.

[1] Wolff's Journal.

APPENDIX.

A.—Page 2.

זהואכבר אדונירם עבד המלך השלמו
שבא לנבת את חמס ונפטר יום . . . . .

B.—Page 3.

"De Adoniram la fossa es esta, que vigne Salomo del Re servent dia, y mori tribut lo pera rebre. . . ."

C.—Page 9.

שארן נבח פקוד מרה לשרו קחו יה . . .
. . . . והדה עד מלך אמציה . . .

D.—Page 11.

שְׁאוּ קִינָה בְקוֹל מָרָה
לְשָׂר נָדוֹל לְקָחוּ יָהּ :

E.—Page 25.

"Levi, ruler of the synagogue, with Samuel and Joseph, honourable men of the congregation of Toledo. To Eleazar the high priest, and to Samuel Canud, and Annas and Caiaphas, honourable men of the congregation in the Holy Land—Peace in the God of Israel.

"Azarias your messenger, a master in the law, brought unto us letters from you, in which you acquainted us with the acts of the Prophet of Nazareth, and the many wonders that he performs. There has dwelt not long ago in this city, a certain Samuel, son of Amaziah, who related to us numerous favourable circumstances of this person; as, that he is humble and meek, that he discourses with the diseased, that he does good to all, even when evil is done to himself, and that he does evil to none; that he is bold against the proud and wicked doers, and that ye do ill to account him your enemy for reproving your vices. And we inquired of this man, in what year, month, and day, this person was born, and he told us. Now we find that on the day of his nativity were seen in this country three suns joined together so as to appear one sun: and as our fathers remarked this sign, they said in astonishment, that Messiah would be speedily born, if He were not already. Beware then, brethren, lest He be already come, and ye have not heeded Him. This Samuel related moreover, that his father had told him, how that certain Magi, men of deep science in nativities, had come to the Holy Land, inquiring for

the place where the holy child should be born: and that Herod your king, in surprise, repaired to the learned men of his city, and asked where the child was to be born? and they told him, in Bethlehem Judah, as Micah the prophet foretold; and how that the Magi declared they were led from afar by a large star of great brilliancy. See to it, whether this be not the fulfilment of the prophecy, 'And the kings shall come to his light, and to the brightness of his coming.' Also beware of persecuting him whom ye are bound to honour and receive with favour, but do whatsoever is well-pleasing. We assure you that neither by our counsel nor by our consent, will we be parties in his death. For should we do so, the prediction would be instantly accomplished, 'They took counsel together against the Lord, and against his Messiah.' And although ye be men of great wisdom, we give you this advice, to take great heed against such an act, lest the God of Israel in his anger destroy your second house of the Temple. For know ye for certain that it will shortly be demolished: and for this reason our forefathers who came from the captivity of Babylon under Pyrrhus, whom king Cyrus sent, and brought with us great riches taken from Babylon in the seventy-ninth year of the captivity, and were well received by the Gentiles at Toledo, and built a great synagogue—they refused to return to build another Temple at Jerusalem which had been once destroyed.

"From Toledo, 14th day of Nisan, æra of Cæsar 18, and of Augustus Octavius 71."

F.—Page 110.

—"Now to conclude, let as much be shewed and proved against the LXXII, as is here done against the latter Jews; as, that they had, 1. The like reason: 2. The like opportunity: or, 3. That they were men of the like wicked disposition in attempting an alteration in the ancient copy. On the other side, let the Jewish reading have, 1. As ancient: 2. As uncontrollable: 3. As universal, a testimony as this of the Septuagint hath. When I see these things made manifest, I may be persuaded in my thoughts to acquit the latter Jew of wilful corruption: but then I shall not cease to wonder how the whole Church of God, for 300 years before Christ, and thrice as much time after, was all this time persuaded of the truth of two contradictory propositions, both at one time."

Corey's *Palæologia Chronica*, Book II. Ch. xvi. 3.

G.—Page 172.

מה אומרת
חכמת הנגון אצל הנוצרים:
גנוב גנבתי מארץ מעברים:

Buxtorf, *Florilegium Hebræorum.*

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